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THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

By

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INTRODUCTION

An eminent archaeologist says that "the battle" in dating the Dead Sea Scrolls "has at times attained the status of a veritable *guerre des savants*. It is an outstanding chapter in the history of learning, in some ways without parallel." Indeed, it fell upon me to fire the first shot in this "war."

To have a full understanding of this logomachy among the scholars, I set forth the following causes and underlying reasons.

In 1948 a worldwide sensation was created by the supposed discovery by Bedouin of ancient scrolls in a cave near the Dead Sea. These scrolls were dated by scholars as of the pre-Christian era. These scrolls were as follows: A Commentary or, as it was later called, Midrash on the Book of Habakkuk; a complete Isaiah Scroll; and another scroll which was later named the Manual of Discipline.

An account was given of the discovery in the *Biblical Archaeologist* of September 1948. In the same number was printed a facsimile page of the Commentary of Habakkuk. When I examined this facsimile I noticed that the phrase *Moreh Zedek*, "Teacher of Righteousness," occurred in the Commentary of Habakkuk. From general knowledge of the history of Hebrew literature it is known that this term had been coined in the Middle Ages. Hence, I immediately launched my criticism of the opinion that this scroll belonged to the pre-Christian period. I, furthermore, said that if the term "teacher of righteousness" had been in vogue in the pre-Christian period and even if it had been used merely by a dissenting group, it would surely have

penetrated into Jewish and early Christian literature. The word "righteous" occurs frequently in the Apocryphal literature, but the phrase "teacher of righteousness" is never found there. Jesus, for example, was called teacher, or "a good teacher," but never "Teacher of Righteousness." The use of this phrase in the Commentary indicates clearly that it could not have been written in the pre-Christian period.

I also pointed out that no Commentaries or Midrashim were written on Biblical books before the destruction of the Second Temple. To this I added that other words and phrases found in the Commentary of Habakkuk indicate clearly that it belongs to the Middle Ages, and that the author himself made use of the Targum of Jonathan which itself is a compilation belonging to the Middle Ages. This was my first attack upon the opinions of the scholars. The war, however, soon proved to be one-sided. The scholars have never answered me by refuting my arguments. The best they could contend was that "possibly" the terms were in use in the pre-Christian period. This to my mind was an admission that they had not mastered the field of the history of Judaism and were not competently acquainted with Hebrew literature.

The American Schools of Oriental Research in 1950 published the Isaiah manuscript. It was acclaimed as of great importance and it was stated that it would revolutionize our knowledge of the Bible. Some even maintained that this very scroll was the same book of Isaiah from which Jesus had read when in the synagogue at Nazareth. Another theologian ventured the opinion that John the Baptist might have handled this Scroll of Isaiah. In one of his sermons he declared, "Isn't it a wonderful thing that the oldest Old Testament record of the prophecy of Isaiah may have been handled by the herald of the Messiah!" The

importance of the scroll because of its great antiquity was well advertised in popular writings as well as on the air.

Again, after examining this scroll I became convinced that it was not of great antiquity and hence was valueless for the history of the Hebrew Bible. The scribe who copied the scroll did not even know sufficient Hebrew and therefore committed gross errors. Not only letters, but even entire verses are missing. The fact that the *matres lectionis* were used in the Scroll of Isaiah indicates clearly that this scroll could not have been written in the pre-Christian period since the *matres lectionis* were introduced in the Biblical books by the authority of R. Akiba who lived in the second century of our era. Even the physical appearance of the writing of this scroll indicates that it was written during the Middle Ages. When the scribe who copied it discovered he had made an error he drew a line through the word to indicate that it was written by mistake, and he wrote the correct word above. The method of drawing a line through a letter or word to indicate that it was written by mistake came into vogue quite late.

The third scroll, the Manual of Discipline, was published by the American Schools of Oriental Research in 1951. This scroll too was heralded as one of the oldest documents which has come down to us from the pre-Christian period. The commonly accepted opinion of the scholars was that it was a document of the Essenes because there are parallels between ideas held by them as stated by Josephus, and those found in the scrolls. Some scholars were of the opinion that this scroll would shed light on the origin and beginnings of Christianity, and therefore held that it was of great value both for the history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth and the origins of Christianity.

In rebuttal against the claimed antiquity of the scroll I pointed out that phrases used and ideas recorded in it were

not known before the destruction of the Second Temple. I also pointed out that the *cardinal ideas* of the Essenes, as well as those of the Christians, were not referred to in it, such as — immortality of the soul; reward and punishment after death; and resurrection. Even the physical writing of the scroll indicates that it was written during a late period. The author in quoting a Biblical verse used ellipses to indicate the omission of a word. The practice of using ellipses to indicate that a word had been omitted came into usage quite late and therefore proves another help to date this manuscript.

It has been well recognized that the so-called Manual of Discipline shows great affinity with the Zadokite Fragments which were found in Cairo, Egypt, and were later published by Dr. Solomon Schechter. It has been assumed that both were the work of the Essenes. I rejected this theory because in the scrolls we have *halakot*, Jewish laws, which were enacted by the sages a long time after the destruction of the Second Temple.

The three scrolls which the late Professor Sukenik bought from a merchant were published recently, and included another Isaiah scroll; the Scroll of Hymns; and the Scroll of the Wars Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. The last scroll was considered very important because it was believed to be of Essene origin and hence very important for the history of warfare during the Second Jewish Commonwealth.

Again I rejected this theory on the basis of internal evidence, since the laws therein referred to were not in vogue during the period of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, and we know definitely that they were enacted *after* the destruction of the Second Temple. All my arguments which I based on unimpeachable proofs were ignored and remain unrefuted. The reason for this we may assume

is that silence was an easy way out. In this volume, I point out two things: the authors of the scrolls were semi-literate persons who did not know how to express themselves accurately in Hebrew; and, most of the modern scholars who dealt with the scrolls were unable to read the text correctly. Hence, their translations are faulty. Furthermore, they show a lack of knowledge of the history of Judaism with its rich Rabbinic and Karaitic literature.

Two other scrolls supposedly discovered by Bedouin were heralded by the press as of paramount importance for the history of the Jews. One was a phylactery which, it was claimed, had been used by the men of Bar Kokba; and the second was a letter written by Bar Kokba himself. In this volume I show that this phylactery is according to the Babylonian tradition, and belongs to the Middle Ages; and that the letter could not have been written by Bar Kokba since it begins with the preposition "From" and a signature with his title appended. In antiquity letters did not carry a signature at the end, and the title of the sender was placed in the beginning. No letter ever began with the preposition "From."

The scholars who maintain that the scrolls had been written in the pre-Christian period base their contention on paleography and archaeology. Paleography, as I view it, cannot be a criterion on which to decide the antiquity of the scrolls, since there are no scrolls in existence dating from the pre-Christian period with which to compare the recently "discovered" manuscripts. The views of Albright, Birenbaum, Cross and Trever on Hebrew paleography cannot be considered scientific, because they never undertook seriously the study of Hebrew orthography. One cannot deal with Hebrew paleography without first making a thorough study of Hebrew orthography. I append herein a facsimile (7) of a Babylonian manuscript of the early

part of the tenth century of the Christian era, wherein some of the letters were written in a more archaic form than those in the scrolls.

Archaeology cannot serve as a criterion for the antiquity of the scrolls. The seven scrolls were not discovered by archaeologists. They did not actually see the scrolls wrapped in linen and secreted in jars. The accounts relating to the discovery itself of the scrolls are contradictory. I recount below the diverse and various accounts of the discovery which are indeed stranger than fiction. I deal also with the well-advertised test called "carbon-14."

The consensus of opinion among those who cling to the view that the scrolls belong to the pre-Christian period is that they were written by the Essenes. We shall demonstrate in this volume that this opinion must be discarded since the ideas and laws set forth in the scrolls are in direct contradiction to those held and promulgated by the Essenes, or, as a matter of fact, by any Jewish group of the pre-Christian period.

Many Christian scholars who have been devoting themselves to the study of the scrolls have maintained lately that they will revolutionize our knowledge of the beginnings of Christianity. Some have advanced the view that the "Teacher of Righteousness" was a prototype of the Messiah, Christ, and that he was put to death by the Jewish king Aristobulus II. Jesus, therefore, was only a reincarnation of the Teacher of Righteousness. Thus Christianity is denied any originality.

The theological and scholarly world was recently aroused by press dispatches from England purporting to report radio talks by Mr. Allegro of the University of Manchester. Allegro in his radio talk is supposed to have said that the Teacher of Righteousness was crucified by Alexander Janneus (the father of Aristobulus II), and that when the

king left, the disciples returned, took down the body of their teacher and settled down to await his return. These pronouncements created a furore among the theologians. The uniqueness of Jesus was at stake. As a matter of fact, some Christian liberals basing themselves on the theories of Dupont-Sommers and now on the statements of Allegro dared to maintain that Jesus was not unique and therefore not divine.

I was highly skeptical and incredulous of these assertions attributed to Mr. Allegro since I know from my studies of the history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth that at the time of Alexander Janneus there had been no Jew who claimed himself to be a messiah; indeed, the idea of messianism had not yet penetrated Judaism. The Apocalyptic-Pharisaic sect which originated the idea of a messiah as a supernatural person, and which were the forerunners of Christianity, came into being *after* the time of Alexander Janneus. In order to verify the accuracy of the press reports attributed to Mr. Allegro I asked the British Broadcasting Company to be kind enough to send me a transcript of the three lectures delivered by Allegro on the 16th, 23rd and 30th of January, 1956, and they complied with my request.

After receiving the transcripts of Mr. Allegro's talks, I found that he had been correctly quoted in the press.

Mr. Allegro said in his second lecture that many Jews whom he defines as "our sect" had fled from Jerusalem. The exodus, he declared, "was organized and led by a priest whom they called the Teacher of Righteousness." "Hardly a decade after they had established themselves in their simple buildings at Qumran," he continued, "the terrible Janneus, the wicked priest as they called him, stormed down to their new home, dragged forth the Teacher, and as now seems probable, gave him into the hands of the

Gentile troops to be crucified." He further asserted that the members of the community, "took down the broken body of their Master, to stand guard over it until the Judgment Day."

If all of these statements which Allegro made were indeed found in the scrolls supposedly discovered near the Dead Sea, the Christian theologians had genuine reason to become disturbed because this would make Jesus merely an echo of the Teacher of Righteousness. As a matter of fact, his colleagues of the Palestinian Archaeological Museum at Jerusalem who themselves are priests, became very fearful of the consequences which might be caused by Allegro's statements. They sent a letter to the London *Times* which was published March 16, 1956 wherein they denied the allegations made by Allegro. They said, "There are no unpublished texts at the disposal of Mr. Allegro other than those of which the originals are at present in the Palestine Archaeological Museum. . . We are unable to see in the texts the 'findings' of Mr. Allegro. We find no crucifixion of the 'Teacher,' no deposition from the cross, and no 'broken body of their Master' to be stood guard over until Judgment Day." Mr. Allegro replied to the accusations of his colleagues and sent me a copy of a letter which he forwarded to the *Times*, wherein he admitted that his statements were based on inferences. He said, "Any such reconstruction must of necessity be based largely on inference." He further maintained, "Years ago it was suggested by scholars that the Teacher was expected to rise again as the priestly messiah."

Upon carefully examining the transcripts of Mr. Allegro's talk I have concluded that his statements are purely fanciful and that we may stamp them as inventions. Alexander Janneus is not mentioned in the scrolls at all. Father de Vaux and his associates were right when in the above

mentioned letter they said that there is no mention in the scrolls of a Teacher who was crucified by Alexander Janneus.

From the reading of the transcripts of Mr. Allegro's talk it is clear that he based some of his assertions on the fragment of a scroll which the Palestinian Museum *bought* from a Bedouin in 1950 and which was published by D. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik in, *Qumran Cave I.* It is further evident that he misunderstood the Hebrew text when he said that this scroll contains "doctrines and phraseology strikingly reflected in the New Testament." In the following pages I have endeavored to demonstrate that this scroll was composed some time during the karaitic period.

I do not believe that the entire blame for sensationalism and falsification of history by misinterpretation of the Hebrew text of the scrolls should be placed on Mr. Allegro. He merely followed suit. All the writers who assumed the antiquity of the scrolls did not support themselves on historical evidence, but based their conclusions on inferences. In many instances they misunderstood the Hebrew text. The blame should rest on them. Their assertions about the Essenes and the teacher of righteousness are not based on any documents.

* *
*

The so-called Dead Sea Scrolls were composed sometime between the 7th and 12th century. Some were written in the early part of the seventh century when the Persians defeated the armies of the eastern Roman Empire and conquered Palestine with the help of the Jews. The Jews had expected the Persians to declare Palestine a Jewish state, and indeed for a time ruled over Jerusalem. The victory of the Persians over the Romans (who were called *Kitim*) greatly exalted the Jews and they expected their

Messiah. It had been stated in the Midrash of Lamentations (a work of the third century CE) in the name of R. Simon, that when the Persian horses (cavalry) would be in the land of Israel the arrival of the Messiah could be expected. The Jews, however, were greatly disappointed. A few years later Heraclius, the king of the eastern Roman Empire, reconquered Palestine. The Jews were persecuted and many were put to death by the Christian conquerors, others, to save themselves, went into hiding in caves.

The rule of the Byzantines, after the victory of the Persians, did not last long. Before the end of the first half of the 7th century the Arabs had conquered Palestine. The advent of Mohammed who proclaimed himself the prophet of Allah and the great victories of the Arabic tribes over such great empires as the Byzantine and the Persian stirred the imagination of the Jews and gave impetus to the appearance of Messiahs. One of these alleged messiahs was Abu Isa who gathered an army of more than ten thousand men and declared war against the local Moslem government. There was another Messiah named Yudgan, at the beginning of the 8th century, and many of his followers did not eat meat or drink wine. There was another well-organized ascetic sect who called themselves, Mourners for Zion.

Some of the supposed Dead Sea Scrolls were written at the time of the Persian conquest of Palestine, and others were written after the rise of Islam. There is a great affinity between the ideas, words and phrases found in the scrolls and those recorded in the early karaitic literature. The laws referred to in the scrolls are also parallel to those recorded in the early karaitic literature. Hence, it is evident that some of the scrolls are representative of a seceding group of the karaitic sect.

The erroneous assignment of the scrolls by the archaeol-

ogists to the pre-Christian period should serve as a lesson. When there is an abundance of literary material, archaeologists should familiarize themselves first with the literary material before making *ex cathedra* statements about archaeological discoveries. The deluge of articles and books written on the scrolls has revealed the deplorable state of much of modern scholarship. It has shown the meagerness of knowledge on the part of both Jewish and Christian scholars of Judaism before the Christian era and the first two centuries thereafter, as well as of Rabbinic and Medieval literature. It is evident from their writings that the history and development of Jewish law is a *terra incognita* to them. The renderings of the scrolls by Brownlee, Burrows and Dupont-Sommer are faulty.

I propound some vital questions in these pages which Professors Albright, Burrows, Yadin and the Archbishop should answer. By doing so they will facilitate not only the establishment of the date of the composition of the scrolls but also remove the cloud of mystery that has shrouded their discovery.

This is not the first time scholars have erred in regard to "discoveries." They were deceived by the forgeries of Abraham Firkowitch. One scholar, Harkavy, had the courage to brand them as forgeries. Again, they were deceived by the forgeries of Shapira. Clermont-Ganneau was alone in recognizing that they were forgeries. These two scholars who had the courage to defy the rest of the scholarly world were insulted by their opponents. To some extent both of these scholars were my teachers. Not long ago the scholarly world was again deceived by claims subsequent to the discovery of the so-called Slavonic Josephus. It, too, was advertised as revolutionizing our knowledge of early Christianity and of the life of Jesus. For a time I stood alone in combatting this false assertion.

Opposing me were eminent scholars, including my own teacher, Solomon Reinach. It is now recognized that the Slavonic Josephus was a hoax.

In concluding this introduction I would like to comment on the Dropsie College and the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, one a great institution of scholarship and the other an organ of learning. In my struggle over the authenticity of the Slavonic Josephus great pressure was exerted on Dr. Cyrus Adler who was then president of the College and editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* to silence me. But believing in academic freedom, he did not yield to that pressure. At a time when pressure is increasingly exerted on the colleges of our land toward conformity, and when nonconformity is somewhat regarded as heresy, it is fortunate for scholarship that the Dropsie College is under the presidency of Dr. Abraham A. Neuman who is a staunch adherent to the great principle of academic freedom. The Dropsie College has not interfered with my writings for the *Jewish Quarterly Review* and my contentions against the delusions which have grown up in connection with the Dead Sea Scrolls.

This book is based primarily on articles which have appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. Because of the high cost of printing I have made no changes in the text. In many of the pages the reader will find a certain amount of polemical utterances and much repetitiousness. This is unavoidable because of the subject matter and the manner of composition. I trust the reader will be patient.

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS
(THE HEBREW SCROLLS)
AND
MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

I

The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness

In 1948 the late Professor E. Sukenik published fragments of a Scroll which he called "The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness." This Scroll with two others was bought from a merchant who said he had obtained it from Bedouin who had found it in a cave near the Dead Sea.[1] He said that this Scroll was of the pre-Hasmonean period.[1a] In an article published in the *JQR* of 1950 I expressed doubt about the antiquity of this Scroll.

In December of 1954 this Scroll with two others was published by *Mosad Bialik*,[1b] and the publication aroused great satisfaction in Jerusalem. Long dispatches had been previously sent out from London about its importance because of its antiquity. A telegram by I. N. S. had been published in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* October 3, 1954 about it. No doubt accounts appeared in other newspapers of this country. On December 27, 1954 another dispatch was published in various newspapers, and the Scroll again was described as one of the oldest of three which had been placed in a cave at the time of the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans in the year 70 CE.

This Scroll was said to have a connection with the Sect of the Essenes. The dispatch to *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

[1] מגלות גנוזות, מתוך גניזה קדומה שנמצאה במדבר יהודה, סקירה ראשונה, סקירה שנייה.

[1a] P. 18, n. 6.

[1b] אוצר המגילות הגנוזות, שבידי האוניברסיטה העברית, הוצאת מוסד ביאליק והאוניברסיטה העברית, ירושלים תשט"ו.

said that one school of thought held that the war described there referred to a real struggle between the Jews and the Romans; whereas other scholars were of the opinion that it apocalyptically referred to future wars and the second coming. This Scroll was well advertised. It was assumed that the Scroll was very important for the study of history of the Second Commonwealth.

Now that the Scroll has been published and a photostat of the text has been supplied, I believe that by critical and minute analysis we shall be able to determine whether it was written during the Second Commonwealth and has an important value for history, or whether it was composed in the Middle Ages by some obscure and unlettered Jew.[2]

In examining the Scroll one should not seek to judge its age by seeking parallels to it. Parallels may be found in any ancient writings. Regardless of when the author lived, he read books, and because he was a Jew he was familiar with the Bible and other writings, or he knew of the contents of some books by hearsay; hence he was influenced by them and could have used parallel ideas and expressions which had been in vogue in the past.

First and foremost, to determine the period when a document was written we must ascertain when some of the ideas, expressions and terminology used in it originated and became current. Scholars agree that some of the midrashic literature is of a late period because it contains Arabic words and expressions from the Byzantine period, in spite of the titles appended to this literature which purport to give it great antiquity. This Scroll is ascribed by some to the pre-Hellenistic period and by others to the time when the Zealots fought against the Romans; but it happens that it contains words, expressions, and halakot which are of a

[2] See S. Zeitlin, *The Jerusalem Post*, Feb. 18, 1955.

very late period. It therefore is not of the period of the Second Commonwealth but of the Middle Ages, and we shall set forth unimpeachable proofs for this view.

On Plate 24 the author says that the priests who participated in the wars by blowing the trumpets should not go near the slain so as not to defile the oil used in the anointments of their priesthood.[3] But during the Second Commonwealth the priests were not anointed with oil at all.[4] There is no mention in the tannaitic literature, Josephus and the books of the Maccabees that the priests were anointed with oil. The authors of the Gospels claimed that Jesus was the Messiah, i. e., Christ — the anointed, but they never state that Jesus was anointed with oil. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews who maintained that Jesus was the Messiah, Christ and High Priest, never said that Jesus was anointed as a high priest or as the king.[5] The authors of the Gospels, as well as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, were aware that *no* anointment of the high priests or kings took place during the Second Commonwealth; hence the phrase in the Scroll שמן משחת כהונתם could not have been written by a man living during the Second Commonwealth. This shows that the author of the Scroll did not live during the Second Commonwealth, for a person writing in that period would have known of these doctrines. Even an unlearned person would have been familiar with well-

[3] ולוא יבואו אל תוך החללים להתגאל בדם טמאתם כי קדושים המה [ולו]א יחלו שמן משיחת כהונם בדם גוי הבל. — The law that the blood of a dead person is defiling was enacted by the sages (Tannaim) most probably after the destruction of the Temple. Comp. ספרא, אמור, אמור אל הכהנים . . . לנפש לא יטמא בעמיו, אין לי אלא המת, ומנין לרבות את הדם ת"ל לנפש. See also Hul. 72. The Torah never stated that the blood of a slain person was defiling. Comp. Yadin, *MAARIV*, Tel Aviv, July 29, 1955.

[4] Comp. Ker. 5 שמן המשחה . . . והתניא משנגנז . . . ומי הוה; comp. also Yoma 52; Yer. Ta'an. 2; Shek. 3; Hor. 12; see also *JQR* 1949, p. 345.

[5] According to Acts 10.38, Jesus was anointed with the holy spirit. *ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει.*

known doctrines held by his people, if he had lived during that period.

On the first line of Plate 18 three Hebrew words were written, סדרי המלחמה וחצוצרות. The parchment on which these words were written was damaged, and hence they were rewritten above the line. These three distorted words are enclosed in parentheses. So far as we know, parentheses were not used in antiquity to indicate that certain words should be ignored. If a copyist made an error, he erased what he had written and wrote the correct words in the same space. That was the practice among the Jews.[6] We know from the Talmud that some copyists placed dots either over or under certain words to indicate that they should not be read.[7] Now the question is, who wrote these three words above the line; was it the original author? If so, then we must assume that he lived in a very late period, because it was not the custom in antiquity to enclose words in parentheses. If we assume that a copyist and not the original author enclosed these words in parentheses, then we must ascertain who tampered with the text and especially at what time. Why did a copyist take the Scroll out of the cave, put the three distorted words in parentheses, write the correct words above the line and then replace the Scroll in the cave? Those who maintain the antiquity of the Scroll must explain this enigma.

Again, on Plate 25 the author wrote the word ומיא but left considerable space and then wrote the following word, כעמכה. To show that the words are connected, he inserted a connecting line between the word ומיא and the word כעמכה.[7a] The practice of using connecting lines was not in vogue in

[6] Comp. Yer. Meg. 1. מוחק; הרי אלו נמחקין.

[7] ולמה נקוד על כל האותיות הללו אמר עזרא אם יבא אליהו ויאמר לי מפני מה כתבת כך אומר אני לו כבר נקדתי עליהן ואם אומר יפה כתבת אעבור (הרני מסלק נקודותיהן), Ab. de R. N. 34.

[7a] ומיא — כעמכה.

antiquity. It is true that in the printed text of the Bible where we have the accent signs, one or two syllable words which do not have an accent sign are connected by a line with the following words to indicate how they should be read;[8] however, in the Pentateuchal Scroll which is read in the Synagogue and does not have accent signs, there are *no* connecting lines. Connecting lines were used in the Bible after accent signs had been introduced, and this was in a comparatively late period. How then can the connecting line in the Scroll be explained if it was written during the Second Commonwealth? We must assume, therefore, that it was written during the Middle Ages. If we say that the connecting line was not inserted by the author but by a later copyist, the question again arises, Who tampered with the text, and when? Why did he take the Scroll from the cave and then replace it?

The term כוהן הראש is used throughout this Scroll. The term כהן הגדול was used in the Second Commonwealth. In the biblical books of the post-Restoration period, like Haggai, Zachariah and Nehemiah, we find only the term הגדול; hence, I maintained that this also indicates that this Scroll could not have been written during the Second Commonwealth as the term was then not employed.[9] It has been pointed out that the term כהן הראש does appear in the Book of Chronicles, which was written after the Restoration.[10] It is true the Book of Chronicles was written after the Restoration; the author, however, refers to the history of the time before the destruction of the First Temple; hence he uses the terms which were in vogue throughout that period. Similarly, Josephus in the first eleven books of his

[8] E. g., את־כל־אשר; את־יום; על־הארץ.

[9] *JQR*, 1949, p. 343.

[10] Comp. J. Rosenthal, ספר היובל של הדואר, p. 244, Bailey, *JBL*, September 1951; comp. also my reply, *JQR*, 1951, pp. 180–2.

Jewish Antiquities uses the term Hebrew, although in his time the term Hebrew was not employed, but Jews. Since in his eleven books he refers to the period preceding the destruction of the First Temple when the term Hebrew was employed, he uses the term Hebrew even though in his own time it was no longer in use.

The author of the Scroll described the wars of the sons of Aram, Uz, Hul, Togar and Masa who were on the other side of the Porat בני ארם בעוץ וחול תוגר ומשא אשר בעבר פורת, and also those wars in which they would be engaged with the sons of *Arpachshad*, and with the sons of *Ishmael*. But these peoples no longer existed in the time of the Second Commonwealth. The author copied their names from the Bible, not knowing that these nations had long since passed out of existence. We note that he also mentioned תוגר *Togar*. In the Pentateuch we have תוגרמה *Togarmah*. In a later period this name was associated with Armenia. In the late rabbinic literature *Togarmah* referred to Turkey. The name תוגר *Togar* was employed for a Turk and came into vogue in the late Hebrew literature,[10a] and never occurred earlier. We cannot explain how the word *Togar* appeared in this Scroll unless we assume that it was composed in a very late period. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that parentheses as well as connecting lines between two words are used in this Scroll.

According to the report given in the *Dabar*, April 22, 1955, Dr. Yadin maintained that the Scroll, "The Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness," was composed during the Roman period between the time of Pompey and the last days of King Herod, in any event before the time of the destruction of the Temple. He said that the name *Ashur* referred to the Romans. According to the same report, Professor Mazar questioned him on this point, holding that

[10a] Comp. בארץ התוגר; התוגר ההוא, דוד הראבוני.

the name *Ashur* was used to designate the Syrians and not the Romans during the Second Commonwealth. As a matter of fact, the name *Ashur* was never employed for either the Syrians or the Romans. There is no passage in any of the literatures that have come down to us, Pagan, Roman or Jewish, which identifies *Ashur* with the Romans. The Romans sometimes were called *Kitim*[11] but never *Ashur*.[11a] If the author of the Scroll really meant the Romans, how could he expect his readers to know that when he uses the term *Ashur* he refers to the Romans, since none of the writings of that or any other period employed the term *Ashur* to refer to the Romans? Furthermore, how can we explain the names of other peoples, like *Uz*, *Hul*, *Masa*, *Togar*, The Sons of *Arpachshad* and the Sons of *Keturah*? There were no nations with these names at the time of the Second Commonwealth, and there were no Jews

[11] Comp. also *JQR*, 1949, p. 345, n. 47.

[11a] The late Professor Sukenik in his Foreword to the מגילות גנוזות said that the כתיי אשור refers to the Seleucids whereas כתיי מצרים refers to the Ptolemies. terminus post quem של המגילה הזאת אני רואה את ה"כתיי מצרים" ו"כתיי אשור" הנזכרים בדף הראשון שלה, הללו הם, לדעתי, בשמות כנויים לתלמיים שבמצרים ולסליבקיים שבסוריה. הווה אומר, שמגילה זו חוברה לאחר חלוקתה של ממלכת אלכסנדר בין הדיאדוכים. Professor H. L. Ginsberg in *BASOR*, December, 1948, followed Sukenik's opinion and said: "The only thing one can therefore infer for certain from the names *Kittites of Assyria* and *Kittites of Egypt* is that the document in question was composed prior to the extinction of the Seleucid kingdom in 63 B. C." Ginsberg is of the opinion that the כתיי מצרים refers to the Ptolemies. The text of the scroll has כתיי אשור and הכתיים במצרים the Kitim in Egypt and not כתיי מצרים. Hence, Professor Ginsberg's theory is based on a reading which is not in the text. Comp. further the following passages. בגדוד אדום ומואב ובני עמון פלשת ובגדודי כתיי אשור ועמהם מרשיע ברית בני לוי ובני יהודה ובני בנימין גולת המדבר . . . ואחרי המלחמה יעלו משם [ ] הכתיים במצרים . . . והיתה מהומה [ ] בני יפת ונפל אשור ואין עוזר לו וסרה ממשלת כתיים . . . בשנה הראשונה ילחמו בארם נהרים ובשנית בבני לוד ובשלישית ילחמו בשאר בני ארם בעוץ וחול תוגר ומשא אשר בעבר פורת ברביעית ובחמישית ילחמו בבני ארפכשד בששית ובשביעית ילחמו בכול בני אשור ופרס והקדמוני עד המדבר הגדול בשנה השמינית ילחמו בבני עילם בתשיעות ילחמו בבני ישמעאל וקטורה ובעשר השנים אשר אחריהם תחלק המלחמה על כול בני חם. Comp. nelow n. 31; 32.

who then belonged to tribes. All the people who lived in Judaea were called Judaeans, Jews.

It is related in the *Dabar* that Professor Tur Sinai asked Dr. Yadin about the word נחשיר which is found in the Scroll. Dr. Yadin explained that this word נחשיר is of Persian origin and that the author of the Scroll did not make use of the Targumim where the word is used. The problem is however, how would an author who lived during the Roman period make use of one Persian word which was unknown in Judaea? Why is only one word of Persian origin used? No other Persian word appears in the Scroll. Judging by other terms and words used in it we may say that the author did use the Targumim, particularly the Targum of Jonathan,[12] which is of late composition.

There is, however, more definite proof from the Scroll that the author made use of the Targum of Jonathan. On Plate 25 he quotes Deut. 20.2–4 כי אלוהיכם הולך עמכם. The so-called Masoretic text has כי יהוה אלהיכם ההלך עמכם[13] "for the Lord your God is He that goes with you," whereas the Scroll has אלוהיכם הולך "for your God goes with you." The rendition of the Pentateuchal text ההלך — אלהכון שכינתיה מדברא "goes with you" occurs only in the Targum of Jonathan, whereas the Septuagint renders it *ὑμῶν ὁ προπορενόμενος* — ההלך "that goes with you," and so it is rendered in the Targum according to Onkelos, אלהכון דמדבר.

There are other passages in the Scroll which indicate that the author made use of the Targum of Jonathan.[14] These contain terms which are of a late period. The author uses the word עתודים prepare, reserve. This term appears in the so-called Mekilta,[15] and it is frequently employed by

[12] Comp. also the Targum Onkoles, Gen. 25.27.

[13] The name of God יהוה does not appear in the Scroll.

[14] See below, p. 10.

[15] Ex. 18.9. מחר אנכי נצב, מחר נהיה עמכם מעתדים; see also Targum of Jonathan, *ad loc.* מחר אנא קאים בצומא מעתד.

the Karaites.[16] In the Pentateuch, Ex. 24.5 the word נערי is mentioned. It is related in the Talmud Meg. 9, that when the seventy men rendered the Pentateuch into Greek in the time of Ptolemy II, they changed the word נערי to זעטוטי.[17] This change is not recorded in the Septuagint. The author of the Scroll has both words, וכל נער זעטוט. Here again is indication that the author in some manner was acquainted with rabbinic literature.

We can definitely state from the instances given above that this Scroll is a very late composition, and we can find no evidence which would support the view that it is of the Second Commonwealth.

It has been suggested that the Scroll is the work of the Essenes, and one writer even found evidence for this theory because the Scroll mentions a distance of two thousand cubits from one standard of a camp to that of another, and Josephus is said to refer to such an arrangement among the Essenes in the Judaean desert. —[18] Josephus never mentions a two thousand cubit distance in connection with the Essenes. The author of the Scroll copied the reference to the distance of two thousand cubits from the Midrash Rab. of Num. 11, where it is stated that the distances from the standards of the camp should be two thousand cubits.[19]

There is strong evidence that the author of the Scroll made use of the Midrash Rab. of Numbers, which itself is of the Middle Ages. The author of the Scroll said that the names of four angels should be inscribed on the standards, Michael, Gabriel, Ou (Riel) and Rafael.[20] The Midrash

[16] Comp. Hadasi, להיות לך מוכן ומעותד, אשכל הכפר.

[17] וישלח את זאטוטי בני ישראל; comp. also Yer. Ta'an. 4.

[18] Gevaryahu, *Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 17, 1954. "The Scrolls even mention a distance of 2000 cubits. Josephus relates a similar custom about the Essenes in the Judean desert." Comp. also Deut. 23.13.

[19] כשאמר הקב"ה למשה שישרה ישראל דגלים א"ל השרה אותם לכל רוח אלפים אמה.

[20] וכתבו על הראשון מ[יכאל] [ ] [א]וריאל על הרביעי רפאל מיכאל וגבריאל.

also mentions in connection with four standards the four angels, Michael, Gabriel, Uriel and Rafael.[21] The author of the Scroll not only copied the names of these four angels, but in the same order as in the Midrash, Michael first and Rafael fourth.[22] To my mind this is indisputable proof that the author of the Scroll made use of the Midrash Rab. of Numbers and the Targum of Jonathan which are medieval compositions.

The word Essenes, or the Hebrew term *Hasidim*, is not mentioned in the Scroll; however, this did not disturb the scholars who maintain that it was a composition by Essenes. We know from Josephus and Philo that this sect was pacific and opposed war.[22a] It is not true that there was a certain segment among them who favored war. Josephus in listing the different sects and groups who opposed the Romans did not include the Essenes. It is true that there was one named John, the Essene, among the army generals. We know that individuals often do not follow party lines or sects to which they belong. We have had fighting Quakers and celebrated generals who belonged to the

[21] וכנגדם ד' דגלים . . . מיכאל גבריאל אוריאל ורפאל.

[22] Comp. Targum of Jonathan, Num. 2.3–25. וטיקסה הוה ממילת תלת גוונין . . . סמוקא וירוקא וברוקא וביה חקוק ומפרש שמהת תלת שבטיא יהודה יששכר וזבולן ובמציעותיה כתיב יקום ה' ויתבדרון סנאך וערקון בעלי דבבך מן קדמך וביה הוה חקיק צורת בן אריון . . . טיקס משרית ראובן . . . וטיקסה הוה ממילת תלת גוונן . . . ובמציעותיה כתיב שמע ישראל . . . וביה הוה חקיק צורת בר אילא . . . טיקס משריית אפרים . . . וטיקסיה הוה ממילת תלת גוונן . . . ובמציעותיה כתיב וענא דה' עליהון . . . וביה הוה חקיק צורת ריבא ורבא . . . טיקס משרית דן . . . וטיקסה הוה ממילת תלת גוונן . . . כרום ימא ובירלוות חלא ואפנטור . . . ובמציעותיה חקיק ומפרש ובמישרוי יימר תוב ה' שרי ביקרך . . . וביה הווה חקיק צורת חיוי חרמן ורבא.

Comp. with text of Scroll, ועל חצוצרות המחנות וכתבו שלום אל במחני קדושיו ועל חצוצרות מסעיהם יכתובו גבורות אל להפיל אויב ולהניס כל משנאי צדק.

[22a] Josephus in his account of the Essenes says: "Oil they consider defiling, and anyone who accidentally comes in contact with it scours his person" (*The Jewish War*, II, 123). Whereas according to this Scroll the priests were anointed with oil.

Society of Friends; if there had been a group of the Essenes who favored war, Josephus would have so informed us.

It is maintained that the story about the war between the so-called "The Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness" is a historical fact. The descriptions on the standards and the insignias are said to bear this out. The war is said to have been a real, not an imaginary one, and therefore the Scroll has been regarded as very important not only for the history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, but also for the history of warfare. As we have shown from internal evidence that the Scroll is beyond doubt a composition of the Middle Ages, we can rest assured that it records an imaginary war and is a creation of the fantasy of the author.

Many fictitious narratives were written in the Middle Ages, some by Jews. There appeared in the ninth century a man who said he was an emissary of four tribes, Dan, Naphthali, Gad and Asher. He said that he was of the Tribe of Dan, and he was called Eldad ha-Dani.[23] He gave an account of their kingdom and of their king who claimed to be a descendant of the ancient tribe of Dan. The Hebrew words "Hear, Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is one," were written in black on his flag, and he further related that the king had a great army. In time of war one man blew the *shofar* and then one hundred twenty thousand men advanced bearing white standards.[24] Eldad also gave accounts of other tribes, and also of the children

[23] אלדד בן מהלי בן יחזקאל . . . בן חושים בן דן בן יעקב.

[24] ושם מלכם עוזיאל, ושם הנשיא הגדול אליצפן ובנו אהליאב למטה דן, ודגלו כתוב בשחור, שמע ישראל ה אלהינו ה' אחד, ובעת אשר יבקש לצאת למלחמה יצעק הצועק בקול שופר ויבוא שר הצבא ויצאו החיילות מאה ועשרים אלף דגלים לבנים . . . ובעת שילחמו יאמרו לא טוב לגבור שינוס, ימות בחור ואל ינוס יחזק לבו אל ה' (לא טוב היום לנוס ואל ינוס ישראל ויחזק לבו בקונו) אל עליון קונה שמים וארץ גבור מלחמה. וישפכו דמי אויב בלא חמלה.

of Moses.[25] He also wrote about the wars between these tribes and seven nations.[26] During the battle, he said, the warriors used to sing a hymn to God.

Many people at that time accepted this tale as a historical fact. Zemach Gaon, the leader of the Jewish people, gave credence to this story, although puzzled by accounts of practices in contradiction to the halaka of the Talmud.[27] This hoax was believed to be historically true for many centuries. Hadasi, one of the prominent Karaites, believed that Eldad ha-Dani's account was true and of great significance.[28] Eldad ha-Dani's account of the warfare has the same historical value as the account of the warfare in the Scroll. Just as prominent people once believed in the Eldad ha-Dani story, so prominent people today believe in the account of the Scroll. People of all ages believe what they wish to believe.

A detailed account of warfare is given in the book called *Sefer ha-Jashar* — also a compilation of the Middle Ages — between the sons of Jacob and the different nations who made war on them. An account of the capture of the city Goash is set forth in detail. The battle cry, according to the author, was "O Lord help us."[29] A description is given of the ceremony at the elevation of Joseph to the position of Vizier to Pharaoh. He rode on one of the choice horses of the king while a parade of thousands who employed

[25] ועוד שבט משה רבינו . . . ושוכנים בבתים מפוארים . . . וכולם טהורים בעלי טבילה ואינם נשבעים כלל; ואינם נשבעים בשם עד שתצא נשמתם; ואינם נשבעים כלל ומי שזוכר השם לבטלה יצעקו עליו ויאמרו כי בעון שבועה בניכם ימותו קטנים. Comp. *The Zadokite Fragments*, 16. . . . כל שבועת אסר אשר יקום איש על נפשו עד מחיר מות אל יפדהו.

[26] והם נלחמים עם שבע מלכיות עד היום.

[27] ואל תתמהו על השנוי וההלוף אשר שמעתם מפי אלדד, שהרי חכמי בבל וחכמי ארץ ישראל שונים משנה אחת בתיקון רב.

[28] קושט ראייתם בדברי הימים נזכר ובספר אלדד הדני נ"ע.

[29] ויתקבצו כל מלכי כנען עוד ויבאו כלם יחד להלחם עם יעקב ועם בניו . . . ולא יכלו יושבי העיר סרטן לצאת לקראת בני יעקב אחרי אשר נתקבצו בעיר להלחם . . . ויקרא ה' הושיעה הושיעה ה'.

different instruments marched behind him, five thousand men with gleaming drawn swords marched in advance. Twenty thousand of the nobility, girded with skins covered with gold, marched on each side of him. Some may have accepted this as a historical narrative of the life of Joseph [30]

In the same book *Sefer ha-Jashar* a description of a war is given between the *Kitim* and the people of Africa which took place in the time of Jacob.[31] This description is based most likely on the stories of the engagements between the Romans and Hannibal. Further on in the book a war is described which was waged by the *Kitim*, the sons of *Kedem* and the sons of Ishmael against the Egyptians.[32] The king of the *Kitim* at that time was the grandson of Esau. These stories of the warfare between the *Kitim*, the sons of *Kedem* and the Africans and Egyptians have no more historical value than the description in the Scroll of the war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, where the names of the nations of *Kitim*, and the sons of Ishmael are mentioned.

The historical value of this Scroll has no more validity than the description on the standards given in the Targum of Jonathan, or than the account of the wars in *Sefer ha-Jashar* which some scholars have also assigned great antiquity.

People in the Middle Ages, including the Jews, were fond of fanciful tales. They were often related so realistically

[30] וירכיבוהו על סוס עצום וגדול . . . ואלף תופים ואלף מחולות ואלף נבלים הלכו אחריו, וחמשת אלפים איש בחרבותיהם שלופות בידיהם מתלהטים וילכו הלוך ושחוק לפני יוסף, ועשרים אלף איש מגדולי המלך אזורים באזור עור מצופה זהב הולכים לימין יוסף ועשרים אלף לשמאלו.

[31] ויסיפו עוד נדודי אפריקה ויבאו ארץ כתים . . . ויהי בשנת תשעים ואחת שנה לרדת ישראל מצרימה היא שנת שלש עשרה שנה למלוך צפו בן אליפז בן עשו על בני כתים ובאו בני אפריקה על בני כתים . . . וינוסו גדודי אפריקה מפני צפו ויפלו חללים לפניו בדרך.

[32] . . . ויבאו כל המלכים האלה מלך אדום ובני קדם וכל בני ישמעאל וצפו מלך כתים ויבאו על כל ארץ מצרים למלחמה.

that many readers believed them to be true. As a matter of fact, some Jews still believe in this type of midrashic literature. Not only wars and other worldly matters were dealt with, but what goes on in the future world was described. There is a detailed description of paradise as well as of *gehinnom*. There is a Midrash in which a full account is given of the rewards to those in paradise and of the punishment of the wicked in *gehinnom*.

Undoubtedly, those who maintain the antiquity of the Scroll will find parallel words and phrases in the Scroll and ancient literature. This is to be expected; as a matter of fact, we find phrases and words, let us say, of the eighteenth century, parallel with phrases and words in the literature of the eighth and ninth century. Some maintain that the forms of arms said to be used in combat by the "Sons of Light" resembled those used by the Hellenes and the Romans. Even if this were true, it is no indication that the Scroll is of the Hellene or Roman period. The author may have read books or heard stories about previous wars and copied some features in them, even to appropriating as models their weapons of war. It is related in the book *Sefer ha-Jashar* that when Pharaoh heard that the Israelites in Goshen were not following his decrees, he decided to go personally to annihilate them. When his chariot was passing through a narrow strip on one side of which was a fence and on the other side a valley, the horses of the riders who accompanied him pushed his horses into the valley. He was thrown out of the chariot into the valley and suffered many broken bones, ultimately dying in great pain as a result of his injuries.[33] One can readily recognize that

[33] ועתה מהרו ואסרו לי המרכבה ואלכה לי גושנה . . . ויהי בלכתם עד קצה מצרים ויעבור סוס המלך במקום צר וגבוה במשעול הכרמים גדר מזה . . . ועומק הארץ והשפלה מזה . . . ויפול סוס המלך אל העומק והשפלה . . . ותהפך המרכבה . . . ותשברנה עצמותיו . . . ויקרע בשר המלך . . . ויבאש בשרו כבשר ההלל המושלך על פני השדה בעת הקיץ לחום השמש.

this story is patterned after the story of the death of King Antiochus IV related in the Second Book of Maccabees[34] and in Josippon.[35] Jewish authors of the Middle Ages in writing stories made use of previous tales and embellished them by their own fanciful imagination. The author of this Scroll belonged to this class.

The number seven plays an important part in the author's account of the wars. It was considered a holy number and was employed by authors in ancient and medieval times. Eldad ha-Dani also employs the number seven. This is another indication that the account of the military event in the Scroll is imaginary.

It has been said: "There is internal and archaeological evidence that it was written while the Temple was still standing and held its central importance in the life of the people."[36] There is no internal or archaeological evidence to this effect. The late Professor Sukenik bought this Scroll with two jars from an Arab merchant, who informed him that Bedouin had told him that it was in the jars.[37] Therefore, it is crystal clear there is no archaeological evidence regarding this Scroll. Neither is there any evidence that it "was written while the Temple was still standing."[38] On the contrary, as we pointed out before, the author was unaware of the halaka and the customs which prevailed during the Second Commonwealth when the Temple was standing. As a matter of fact, there is no reference to a temple.

[34] 9.4–7.

[35] ויאמר מהרו הרכבּ והפרשים והחיל ואלכה לי אל ירושלים . . . ויהי בדרך ויעבר הרכב . . . וירגזו הסוסים וידלגו ויהפכו את המרכבה ויפול אנטיכוס . . . ותשברנה כל עצמותיו . . . ויבאש כל בשרו כריח בשר החלל המושלך על פני השדה בימי הקיץ לחום השמש.

[36] Gevaryahu, *Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 17, 1954.

[37] שעם רכישת המגילות הראשונות בבית־לחם קניתי גם שני כדי חרס, שלפי דבר הבדוים נמצאו המגילות בתוכם".

[38] Gevaryahu, *ibid.*

There can be no question that this Scroll is a late composition. It is worthless for the history of the Jews during the Second Commonwealth and the history of warfare. It is an imaginary product of a Jew of the Middle Ages.[39]

The authorities of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem who announced to the world the great "discovery" before the Scroll was published should seek to refute my arguments. They owe this to the scholarly world. The refutation, however, must be based, not on mere opinions of scholars, but on sources, since all my arguments are supported by sources.

After concluding the part of my essay on the Scroll, dealing with the so-called "War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness," I received the April issue of the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*[40] containing an article on this Scroll by Dr. M. Delcor, and I propose to comment upon it.

Dr. Delcor gives a translation of the Hebrew text. The use of the word תוגר "togar" presented no problem to him although the Pentateuch has the word תוגרמה "togarmah"; the word תוגר "togar" was never used in Hebrew literature

[39] It has been pointed out in *Hadoar* (Dec. 17, 1954) that many words and expressions in the Scroll so called "The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness" indicate its antiquity. כמה עקבות ורשמים למסורה קדומה טבועים במגילתנו. שבע התקיעות מזכירות מיד את פרשת כיבוש יריחו. המונחים „אותות" „דגלים" מקורם בתורה . . . הכינויים „גבור" „איש כבוד" „עושה חיל" המציינים את אלהי ישראל" מצויים בדיוקם או בקירובם במזמורי תהילים . . . על הכל מרחפת רוח קדומים. מגילת „מלחמת בני אור ובני חושך" היא מבע לרוח לוחמי הזמן ההוא. Because the terms appear in the Pentateuch, and other expressions are found in various books of the Bible, particularly the Psalms, the author concludes that this indicates the antiquity of the Scroll. During the Middle Ages some Jews knew the Bible and authors used biblical terms and phrases in their writings. The book *Sefer ha-Jashar* is full of biblical phrases. Mapu, a Hebrew novelist of the nineteenth century, used a biblical style in his novels. Following the arguments of the author, one might say that Mapu lived shortly after the composition of the Bible since he used biblical phrases.

[40] Avril 1955, pp. 372–99.

until the late Middle Ages. In translating the words סדרי המלחמה וחצוצרות he apparently never questioned why these words were enclosed in parentheses, a procedure not resorted to in the ancient times. At least, he should have pointed this out to his readers. Again, he translated the words ומיא כעמכה "Qui est . . . comme ton peuple Israël." Dr. Delcor also saw no problem in the fact that there is a connecting line, however, between the word ומיא and the word כעמכה. The use of connecting lines was unknown among the ancient Jews. He apparently did not observe the connecting line and hence did not call it to the attention of the readers. He translates the passage כי אלוהיכם הולך which is a quotation from the Pentateuch, "car votre Dieu marche." He did not notice that the Pentateuchal text has ההולך *qui marche*; while the reading of the Scroll is הולך which corresponds to the reading of the Targum of Jonathan.

Dr. Delcor renders ה ביד מושה [ ]ואשר ד "*et ceux de la* [*tora*]*h*? (*donnée*) *par l'intermédiaire de Moïse.*" The text has a ד *dalet*, and then the line is broken, and following the break is a ה *he*. Between the ד *dalet* and the ה *he* there is space for two letters. If this conjecture is correct, the text would read כאשר דבר ה ביד משה "as the Lord spoke by the hand of (through) Moses," copying a well-known clause of the Pentateuch.[41] The word *Torah* is not in the text, and if it were, it would not make any sense, and Dr. Delcor's amendation, "*donnée*" (עשה) would not make sense in Hebrew either. If our assumption is correct that the author wrote a ה *he* instead of יהוה, this would prove that the text of the Scroll is of a very late period since the Jews in the late Middle Ages used a ה *he* for the name of יהוה. When the author in previous passages quotes Pentateuchal passages where the word יהוה occurs, he ignores it.

[41] כאשר דבר יהוה ביד משה, Num. 27.23.

The translation is not only arbitrary but faulty. In many cases Dr. Delcor did not fully comprehend the text. To give only a few examples, he translates the word עתודים "volontaires," which is wrong.[42] The words נער זעטוט he translates "garçon jeune." He did not notice that the Hebrew text was tautological. The word זעטוט is a repetition in meaning of נער.[43]

The Hebrew passage ויצאו מן השער התיכון is rendered by Dr. Delcor as follows: "sortiront de la porte du lieu où Dieu réside." He took the words שער התיכון to mean "the gate where God resides," because he did not know the words should be rendered "the middle gate," a phrase well-known in Hebrew and Karaitic literature. This is one illustration of the many faulty renderings in his translation of the Scroll. It is on a par with Brownlee's and Dupont-Sommer's rendering of the Scrolls.[44]

II

The Thanksgiving Hymns

The other Scroll published by the *Mosad Bialik* was the Thanksgiving hymns; fragments of which had been published by the late Professor Sukenik. I pointed out in one of my articles that nothing in these hymns indicates that they were written during the Second Commonwealth.[45] Psalms and thanksgiving hymns, of course, were written by Jews during the Middle Ages, and I quoted a beautiful hymn from the *Sefer ha-Jashar*, written in the biblical style, which displays poetic qualities greater than those in the Scroll: ויאמר לעיני כל ישראל רבות עשית אתה ה' פעלת

[42] See above p. 8.
[43] See p. 9.
[44] See below IX. "Distortions and falsifications."
[45] *JQR*, 1950, pp. 41–43.

גדולות מי כמוך שפתי יזמרו לשמך, חסדי ומצודתי משגבי שיר חדש אשירה לך בתודה לך אזמרה את עוז ישועתי . . . אליך בטחנו ה' אמרנו אתה אלהינו כי היתה לנו למחסה למגדל עוז מפני אויבינו. אליך זעקנו ולא בושנו בך בטחנו ונמלטנו . . . יצאת לישע לנו גאולת בזרוע את עמך עניתנו משמי קדשך מרבבות עם הושעתנו . . . נבלתם כסוחה היתה בקרב חוצות . . . לשננו תספר גבורתך נשירה ונזמרה בנפלאותיך. To this hymn may be added others which were written in an equally poetic, biblical style.

I would not return to this subject if it were not for the article by Dr. Sonne, "A Hymn Against Heretics,"[46] wherein he maintained that the author of the hymns was a Gnostic and that they referred to the trials and anxieties of a dissident group. He connected Rabbi Meir with the Gnostic group. Sonne says, "None other than the famous second century teacher, R. Meir, later a pillar of the Mishnah, seems to have been compelled to leave Palestine owing to his leadership of a group with Gnostic leanings." He adds, "This statement may appear exaggerated, but there are many indications that R. Meir . . . did not follow the authoritative Jewish course of his time." He continues, "We can here indicate only a few supporting instances."

To maintain that R. Meir was a leader of a Gnostic group, or even had leanings toward it, by citing a few isolated agadic passages is not a proper method of scholarly investigation. We have numerous utterances and halakic decisions by Rabbi Meir in the Talmud. If he had been a leader of or even had Gnostic leanings, this would have been reflected in his halakot. Halakot represented and laid down the mode of life of the Jews, and Sonne should have looked for corroboration in them and not in stories and legends.

[46] *HUCA*, 1950–1951, pp. 275–313. I want to make clear to my Christian colleagues that not every Jew, even though he may bear the title rabbi or doctor, is a rabbinic scholar

Even his citations from the Agada are not altogether authentic, and some of them are distorted by misquoting.

To support his theory Sonne quotes the conflict of R. Meir with R. Simon b. Gamaliel and maintains that R. Simon's severity toward R. Meir was more than personal dislike. Even if we assume that Sonne's contention is correct, this does not prove that R. Meir was the leader of a Gnostic group; however, Sonne does not tell the story in full. R. Nathan also was involved in the opposition toward R. Simon,[47] which was not personal but against the institution of the patriarchs. R. Meir, who was joined by R. Nathan, wanted to restore the situation which existed before Hillel, wherein the head of the Sanhedrin was not only a *Nasi* but also an *Ab bet Din*. R. Meir failed in his opposition. R. Simon b. Gamaliel continued to be the sole authority of the Sanhedrin. Dr. Sonne also refers to the Palestinian Talmud M. K. where it is related that an attempt had been made to excommunicate R. Meir.[48] This attempt was not because of R. Meir's leanings toward heresies but on account of his defense of the law against the rule of the majority. R. Eleazar[49] and others,[50] including R. Akabiah ben Mahalalel were excommunicated for the same reason.[51]

Sonne finds another proof that R. Meir had connections

[47] רבן שמעון בן גמליאל נשיא ר' מאיר חכם ר' נתן אב בית דין . . . אסיקו לר' מאיר אחרים ולר' נתן יש אומרים . . . כי אזל ר' נתן א"ל רשב"ג נהי דאהני לך קמרא דאבוך למהוי אב בית דין שוינך נמי נשיא, מתני ליה רבי לר' שמעון בריה אחרים אומרים . . . אמר לו מי הם . . . אמר ליה בני אדם שבקשו לעקור כבודך וכבוד בית אביך (Hor. 13–14).

[48] בקשו לנדות את ר' מאיר אמר להן איני שומע לכם עד שתאמרו לי את מי מנדין ועל מה מנדין.

[49] *Ibid.* בקשו לנדות את ר' אליעזר . . . ולית ר' אליעזר ידע שאחרי רבים להטות. Comp. also B. M. 59.

[50] את מי נידו את ר' אלעזר בן חנוך שפיקפק בטהרת הידים, הדה אמרה כל המפקפק בדבר (אפילו) בדבר סופרים צריך נידוי (Yer. M. K. 3).

[51] Eduy. 5.6. . . . אמרו לו עקביא חזור בך בארבעה דברים שהיית אומר ונידוהו ומת בנידוי . . . אני שמעתי מפי המרובים והם שמעו מפי המרובים אני עמדתי בשמועתי והם עמדו בשמועתן.

with other sects in the account of his journey to Asia to intercalate the year.[52] "Significant," he says, "is R. Meir's journey to Asia in order to proclaim a leap year. The calendar has always been one of the controversial subjects among various sects." There were no controversies among the Jews on the question of the calendar in the time of R. Meir in the second century CE. The Sadducees were no longer in existence and the Judaean Christians had adopted a separate religion. The reason for R. Meir's journey to Asia to intercalate a year was due to the Hadrianic persecutions; the Jews of Palestine had been forbidden to perform their religious rites. Dr. Sonne quotes other passages to substantiate his theory. He says, "Notably his (R. Meir's) comment on the serpent, תנא בשם ר' מאיר, לפי גדולתו של נחש היה מפלתו 'in proportion to the *greatness of the serpent was its fall.*' (Italics are Sonne's) One cannot help thinking of the well-known Gnostic sect, the Ophites or the Naassenes, who worshipped the serpent."

The phrase תנא בשם may not have been used by Rabbi Meir. It may mean that there was a tradition of what he had said; in reality he may never have uttered it. My criticism, however, is not based on this possibility. Sonne did not quote the entire passage. In full it reads as follows: תנא בשם ר' מאיר לפי גדולתו של נחש היה מפלתו, ערום מכל ארור מכל "In accordance with the distinction of the serpent was his downfall, he was the most subtle among the beasts and he was cursed from among all the beasts." The author of this passage plays on the words ערום מכל, ארור מכל. The serpent was more subtle than any beast ערום מכל חית. The serpent was cursed from among all the beasts ארור . . . מכל חית.

Either Dr. Sonne did not quote the concluding words because he did not see the Midrash, or he did not consider

[52] Meg. 18. אר' שמעון בן אלעזר מעשה בר' מאיר שהלך לעבר שנה בעסיא (אסיא) Tos. *ibid.* 2.

it necessary to quote them though they are the essence of the entire Midrash, and he thereby gave the readers a wrong idea of this midrashic utterance. He did not even introduce a weak argument to support his contention that R. Meir was a leader of a Gnostic group. His entire contention is a distortion of a historical fact. His historical method is faulty in that he neglected all the halakot of R. Meir. He should have examined R. Meir's halakot. First and foremost, in order to understand the period of the sages, or the character of the sages themselves, or their religious outlook, the halakot should be examined, as they are the main source for a scholarly, historical investigation.

Sonne gives one hymn with a translation and comments on the words, למען הבט אל תעותם להתעולל במועדיהם. He says, "It may be noted, in passing, that R. Eliezer of Modin includes among those who have no share in the world to come, 'him who condemns the festivals.' It should be borne in mind that R. Eliezer of Modin is identified with the *Dorshe Reshumot* circle (Mekilta, ed. Weiss, p. 55), to which our author also probably belonged."

Dr. Sonne is surely aware that the Karaites accused the Rabbinites of profaning the holidays. In the Karaite marriage contract there is a clause in which the newly married couple willingly promised to observe the festivals of God, i. e., according to the Karaitic customs.[53] The well-known Karaite Hadasi accused the Rabbinites of profaning the festivals.[54] Salmon ben Yeruhim in his polemic against Saadia used identical language.[55]

[53] ועוד רצו והתנו שניהם במבחר לבם בברית הר סיני ובחקי הר חרב לשמר את מעדי יו'י' המקדשים בראית הירח.

[54] חללו ימי מועדים; תעו בו והתעו; אחרי התועים והמתעים; חפאו עד שקר עותו (אשכל הכפר) יושר לשמור שנים בכל ימי מועדיך.

[55] תעות הועה ומתעה; הועבות רבותיך; שהבדילנו מן התועים; האיש הרע התועה והמתעה.

Dr. Sonne's statement that the Mekilta identifies R. Eliezer of Modin with the *Dorshe Reshumot* is unfounded. Nowhere in the Mekilta is this sage identified with the *Dorshe Reshumot.*

In commenting on the word בליעל, Dr. Sonne says,"It may be noted that in the second century *Belial* seems to have become almost a technical term for heresy." Apparently, he overlooked the fact that in Karaitic literature the term *Belial* was employed against the Rabbinites.[56]

On the words לאל עליון Sonne says, "Except for Gen. 4 [14], is rather seldom used in the Bible. It emerges later under Hellenistic influence, so, for instance, by Ben Sira."

It seems from the above quotation that he wants to show that this hymn was written during the Hellenistic period. These words are frequently used in the Karaitic doxology.[57] This hymn as well as other hymns can be shown because of similarity of words, spellings, and misspellings, to belong to Karaitic literature.

In this scroll the sentence אודכה אלי "I thank you my God," occurs. In the Bible we have the following, "אודך אדני"[57a] "I thank you O my Lord." The phrase "I thank you my God" does not occur in the Bible nor in the apocryphal or apocalyptic literature where hymns praising God appear quite frequently, and Josephus does not use the expression. So far as I know this phrase אודך אלי occurs for the first time in the karaitic doxologies and also in the medieval hymns. Hence it is very strange that such a sentence should occur in this Scroll if it is of great antiquity.

[56] Comp. שילמדם ספרי התועים והמתעים ונמשך ,לקוטי קדמוניות; אשכל הכפר, והלך אחרי בני בליעל המריחים.

[57] אקרא לאל עליון, לאל עליון עתירתם, וחוש מהרה אל עליון, הנה קדושי אל עליון, לאל עליון ונורא דודים, יחוש לריב ציון אל עליון.

[57a] Ps. 86.12, אודך אדני; 111.1, אודה ה'; II Sam. 22.50, אודך ה'; I Sam. 12.1, אודך ה'. See further VI, "Scrolls purchased by the Hebrew University."

I trust that my colleagues of the Hebrew University who proclaim this Scroll to be of the Second Commonwealth will endeavor to refute me by showing that this sentence "אודך אלי" occurs in the literature of the Second Jewish commonwealth.

It is maintained that in this Scroll the word *El* is written in the Old Hebrew script. The editor marked three instances. Personally, I am not sure that they are in the Old Hebrew script. The word *El* occurs more than 20 times in the Scroll. The word El was written in the square Hebrew script in all the places except three. Why did the three differ from the rest? What is the reason the author made these three differ from the others?

III

The So Called Letter of Bar Kokba

In one of my articles[58] I maintained that the so called letter of Bar Kokba was *not* written by the man who claimed to be the Messiah Bar Kokba, or even during the period in which he lived. I based this belief primarily on the fact that this letter began with the preposition from, i. e., "From Simon . . . to," a form of address not known among the Jews, Hellenes or Romans. In my article, "The Antiquity of the Hebrew Scrolls and the Piltdown Hoax,"[59] I wrote, "I did not refer to the letter presumed to be in the midrashic literature as no letters are recorded there, only a formula and a paraphrase, and again, because this literature belongs to a late period. One of my purposes for *not* mentioning the supposed letters found in the midrashic literature was to ascertain whether or not those who are

[58] *JQR*, 1953, pp. 86–97.
[59] *Ibid.* July, 1954, pp. 2–12.

acquainted with the midrashic literature would apply to those so called letters a critical historical analysis." I said further in the same article, "A speaker at a meeting of a scholarly group on the subject of the supposed letter of Bar Koseba cited a passage in Midrash Rab. on Genesis where, he said, a letter was recorded by R. Judah the Prince to Antoninus with the formula 'From Judah the Prince to King Antoninus.' "[60]

The speaker was Professor Isaiah Sonne who read a paper entitled, "The Newly Discovered Bar Kokeba Letter" at the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the American Academy for Jewish Research, subsequently published in the *Proceedings of the Academy* which appeared January 1955.

Dr. Sonne said, "Unfortunately, his bias against the caves seems to have led to oversight by Zeitlin. Indeed, while he was gathering examples from all corners of the world . . . he overlooked examples from the very place and the only period we are dealing with, namely, letters from the chancellory of the Palestinian *Nasi* in the second century." I did not overlook any literature in reference to letters, my purpose in not mentioning the supposed letter in the midrash being to see if the Jewish writers dealing with these matters would investigate midrashic literature critically and historically. As a matter of fact, I gave the supposed letter from the Palestinian *Nasi* in full in the July 1954 number of the *JQR*.[61] I said that there was no letter quoted in the Midrash, but an account had been circulated among the Jews about a letter written by R. Judah the Nasi to Antoninus. Furthermore, I pointed out that the Midrash *Tanhuma* has a different reading in which

[60] P. 60.

[61] רבינו אמר לר' אפס כתוב חד אינרא מן שמי למרן מלכא אנטונינוס, קם וכתב מן יהודה נשיא למרן מלכא אנטונינוס.

the formula is "Judah your servant."[62] Dr. Sonne apparently was unaware of my article when he wrote on the subject.[63]

Further, I showed that R. Judah could not have written a letter to King Antoninus. R. Judah died ca. 220 CE. At the earliest he could not have been appointed *Nasi* before 165. It is more probable that he was appointed later. Antoninus Pius died in March 161 CE. Thus it is evident that R. Judah did not engage in any correspondence with Antoninus Pius. The latter was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius, who adopted the name Antoninus; several of the succeeding emperors took this surname.[64] If indeed, there was an authentic letter written by R. Judah, it would not have been addressed to King Antoninus since the title was carried by several emperors who succeeded him. Unfortunately, Dr. Sonne did not handle this midrashic passage critically.

Dr. Sonne further writes, "Another way in which a subordinate could give expression to the respect due to his superior in the address-formula was to set the name of the addressee ahead of his own: 'To the Emperor . . . from . . .' This is the more common form in the Greco-Roman world, and is also mentioned in rabbinic sources. R. Simeon ben Lakish explained that Abner deserved the death penalty because in a letter to King David he wrote: 'From Abner to David,' and not 'To David from Abner.' "

Dr. Sonne also misunderstood the Palestinian Talmud as he did the Midrash. Abner wrote no letter to David, and Simeon ben Lakish never thought that Abner wrote a letter to King David. In II Sam. 3.12, it is written וישלח אבנר מלאכים אל דוד תחתו לאמר למי ארץ. Simeon ben

[62] וכן רבינו הקדוש היה כותב לאנטונינוס יהודה עבדך שואל בשלמך.
[63] Although he had ample time to read my article.
[64] *JQR, loc. cit.*

Lakish interpreted the word homiletically תחתו, "In his place" i. e., instead of writing the letter "To David from Abner," he wrote "from Abner to David." Although it was a homiletical interpretation by the sage, and as there is no statement in the Book of Samuel that Abner ever wrote letters to David, nevertheless, we may deduce from this that even in the middle of the third century CE in Palestine, it was still customary to write, "To . . . from . . ." The formula of writing "from . . . to . . ." came into vogue in Babylonia in a later period. Sonne's statement that the formula "to the Emperor" is the more common form in the Greco-Roman world is untrue, and I do not believe that he will be able to produce any letter with this formula written in antiquity, at least to the third or fourth century CE.

Sonne said, "Had Zeitlin taken these examples into consideration, he would have realized that two different address-formulas do not necessarily mean antiquity and Middle Ages, but that the one, without "from," was used between equals, the other, with "from," between superior and subordinate. He would then easily have found the preposition "from" in Aristeas in the letter of Demetrius to Ptolemy, his superior: 'to the great king *from* Demetrius.' "

Dr. Sonne did not produce any examples for consideration. He misunderstood the texts which he quoted. He did not mention that the letter of Demetrius is not the original but a copy of the memorial.[65] Furthermore, his statement that an address without "from" was used between equals, and that one with "from" was used between superior and subordinate, cannot be taken seriously. If Sonne had read Aristeas further, he would have discovered how groundless was his assertion. There is a letter from the

[65] Τῆς δὲ εἰσδόσεώς ἐστιν ἀντιγραφον τόδε Βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ παρὰ Δημητρίου.

High Priest Eleazar to Ptolemy which opens, "Eleazar the High Priest to his true friend, King Ptolemy, greetings."[66] There is no "from," in this address and certainly Eleazar was not equal to Ptolemy. There is another letter, in the same book from Ptolemy to Eleazar, which opens as follows: "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the High Priest, greetings."[67] This letter was from a superior to a subordinate, and there is no "from" in this address.[67a]

Sonne continues his criticism of my view by saying, "He should not have overlooked Josippon where the letter of Antiochus to Lysias his subordinate starts: 'From the king to Lysias . . .' " I did not overlook Josippon. I quoted all the letters mentioned there. Sonne apparently overlooked my article of July 1954 which he had ample time to examine before his article was published. For the benefit of the present reader and to show that Sonne did not have an understanding of the text of Josippon, I shall quote the letters once more.

Several letters are given in Josippon; the letter from Octavius Augustus Antony to John Hyrcanus, king of Judah;[68] one from Pompey to Aristobulus;[69] and another from Sossius to Herod.[70] They all begin with the name of the sender and his title, e. g., Pompey the general of Rome to King Aristobulus. Some of the letters in Josippon are based on Josephus, while others are not found elsewhere and apparently were composed by the author himself. Josippon also records four letters from the period of the Hasmoneans, one from Lysias to Judah,[71] the second from King Anti-

[66] Ἐλεάζαρος ἀρχιερεὺς βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ φίλῳ γνησίῳ χαίρειν. (41)

[67] Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Ἐλεαζάρῳ ἀρχιερεῖ χαίρειν. (35)

[67a] Comp. also n. 85; 86.

[68] אוחביאנוס אגוסתוס המלך ומרקוס אנטונינוס חבירו להורקנוס מלך יהודה שלום.

[69] פומפיוס שר צבא רומה אל ארסתובלוס המלך.

[70] סיקתוס בן דודו אשר לקיסר לאורדוס בן אנטיפטר שלום.

[71] ליסיאה שר הצבא ומשנה למלך אנטיוכוס למשיח יהודה ולכל עמו שלום.

ochus IV to Lysias,[72] the third from King Antiochus Eupator to Judah,[73] and the fourth from the Romans to Judah.[74] All these letters, except the second, begin with the name of the sender and his title. The second letter, however, reads as follows: "These are the words of the letter which King Antiochus sent to Lysias, the son of his uncle, from the King to Lysias my brother greeting." These letters are based on II Maccabees where the form of the address consists of the name of the sender followed by his title and then the salutation, To . . . . Lysias' letter opens thus: "Lysias to the Jewish people, greetings."[75] Antiochus Eupator's letter to the Jews begins as follows: "King Antiochus to the Senate of the Jews and the rest of the Jews, greetings."[76] The commencement of the letter of the Romans to the Jews is as follows: "Quintus Memmius and Titus Manius, ambassadors of the Romans, to the Jewish people, greetings."[77] In none of these three letters is Judah mentioned; however, the name appeared in Josippon, having been interpolated later by a scribe. The letter from King Antiochus IV to Lysias in the II Book of Maccabees has the following opening: "King Antiochus to his brother Lysias, greeting."[78] The name of the sender is given in the beginning, but the preposition "*from*" is not found in II Maccabees which is the source for Josippon. Hence the second letter, which in Josippon has the formula "from the king to Lysias," is a late interpolation. I said

[72] ואלה דברי אגרת אשר שלח המלך אנטיוכוס אל ליסיאה בן דודו מן המלך אל ליסיאה אחי שלום.

[73] ואלה דברי האגרת שלח המלך אאופטר אל יהודה משיח מלחמה ואל יתר העם שלום.

[74] שרי רומא אל יהודה משוח מלחמה ואל זקני ישראל שלום.

[75] Λυσίας τῷ Πλήθει τῶν Ιουδαίων χαίρειν.

[76] Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν Ιουδαίων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ιουδαίοις χαίρειν.

[77] Κόιντος . . . πρεσβῦται Ῥωμαίων τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ιουδαίων.

[78] Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος τῷ ἀδελφῷ Λυσίᾳ.

this in my article of July, 1954; hence I did not overlook Josippon, as Sonne charges.

While it is true that the book of Josippon was composed at a very early period, i. e., the end of the second or early part of the third century CE, there are many interpolations and additions by later scribes. Although the name Judah does not appear in any of the letters in the II Maccabees, which is the source of the letters, it does appear in the letters in Josippon and is evidently an interpolation. The second letter given in Josippon which has the formula, "From the King to Lysias," but is not found in the source, i. e., II Maccabees, surely is a late interpolation of the medieval period. All this was not noticed by Sonne.

He further says that I overlooked other "froms" in antiquity, one in the epistle of the Sidonians to Antiochus. The text is as follows: "To King Antiochus Theos epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians in Shechem." In the first case, this is a memorial of a letter.[79] The main point in my statement, however, was that no letter "written in antiquity begins with the preposition "from"; this was the *crux* of my contention. Sonne, as well as R. Marcus,[80] quotes documents and epistles which began with the preposition "to . . . . from . . ." This makes a vast difference.[81]

Sonne says that Professor Saul Lieberman drew his attention to the fact that the letters quoted in Midrash Tannaim as written by Simon ben Gamaliel and R. Johanan ben Zakkai begin "From Simon." The Midrash Tannaim is a composition of the Middle Ages and the author or authors of it altered the texts of the tannaitic literature.[82]

[79] Βασιλεῖ Ἀντιόχῳ θεῷ ἐπιφανεῖ ὑπόμνημα [ὑπόμνησις] παρὰ τῶν . . .

[80] *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Jan. 1954, p. 51.

[81] Comp. E. R. Lacheman, "The So-called Bar Kokba Letter, *JQR*, 1954, pp. 285–290.

[82] Comp. *JQR*, 1954, pp. 4–5.

According to the text of the Midrash, Simon ben Gamaliel and Johanan ben Zakkai both held the title *Rabban*.[83] At no time were there two men in Jewish history who simultaneously were called *Rabban*. It is clear that the text in the Midrash Tannaim was tampered with,[84] and when Lieberman called Sonne's attention to the Midrash, he should have informed him of this.[84a]

"While Zeitlin was lavish with negative examples from the ancient world," Dr. Sonne says, "he is amazingly sparing in his positive examples of the use of "from" in the Middle Ages. All he adduces is one lonely example: 'From Hezekiah . . . to . . .'" and this without any reference to the source it was taken from. When I finally located the source, I could not believe my eyes." The *reason* Sonne could not believe his eyes was that he had found in J. Mann's *Text and Studies* letters which did not begin with the preposition "from."

For the benefit of those who are unacquainted with medieval literature, I shall quote three more examples in which the letters begin with the preposition "from." There is a letter by King Solomon to the Queen of Sheba which begins, "From me, King Solomon, peace," in the *Targum Sheni* on the Book of Esther, a medieval Babylonian composition.[85] In the book of *Sefer ha-Jashar*, which is also a medieval composition there is a letter supposed to be

[83] . . . רבן שמעון בן גמליאל ואת רבן יוחנן בן זכאי ושתי מגילות פתוחות . . . אמר כתוב משמעון בן גמליאל ומיוחנן בן זכאי לאחינו שבדרום.

[84] Comp. Tosefta Sanh. מעשה ברבן גמליאל . . . אמר לו כתוב. לאחנא בני גלילא . . . ולאחנא בני דרומא. See further *JQR*, *ibid.*

[84a] The first person who had the title Rabban, was Gamaliel the Elder. The reason for this was that prior to his time there were two men at the head of the Sanhedrin, i. e., *Nasi* and *Ab bet Din*. The office of *Ab bet Din* was abolished in the time of Gamaliel the Elder; therefore he was called *Rabbenu*, that is to say, *our Master*.

[85] מני מלכא שלמה שלם ליכי שלם לרבנייכי די את ידעת דאמליך יתי קודשא בריך הוא . . . ועל שידין ועל רוחין ועל לילין.

written by Jacob to the King of Egypt, which begins, "From your servant, Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the Hebrew, the prince of God, to the king . . . ."[86] There is also a letter which begins with the preposition "from" from the different nations to Joshua, son of Nun, which also belongs to the Middle Ages.[87] There are more letters which begin with the preposition "from." Sonne examined only one work.

The historicity of the so-called Bar Kokba letter has no more validity than the letter of Jacob the son of Isaac, or the letter of King Solomon to the Queen of Sheba.

Sonne dealt with only one of my contentions that no letter in antiquity ever began with the preposition "from." He bypassed my statement that ancient letters bore no signature at the end and ignored my refusal to accept the Bar Kokba letter as genuine because it bears a signature at the end. I also objected because only the name and no title of the sender of the so-called Bar-Kokba letter appeared in the beginning. If this letter was indeed written by Bar Kokba, who was called the prince, it would have been addressed, "Simon ben Koseba," (the deceiver) and the title "the prince of Israel, to . . ."[88]

I held that the Hebrew text of the so called letter of Bar Kokba was unintelligible and that it was inconceivable that one who was considered a Messiah by a sage like R. Akiba, was semi-literate. Sonne calls my arguments "rather peculiar," and wrote, "Nowhere could I find that correct Hebrew spelling was required of the Messiah." It is

[86] ויכתוב יעקב ספר אל מלך מצרים . . . מאת עבדך יעקב בן יצחק בן אברהם העברי נשיא אלהים אל המלך האדיר . . .

[87] . . . אגרת למלך יהושע . . . וזה התחלת הכתב: מכל הגבורים . . . אל יהושע בן נון.

[88] Comp. further *JQR*, 1952, pp. 77–82; 1953, pp. 86–97; 1954, pp. 174–180; 1955, p. 224. During the Middle Ages we find letters bearing signatures. The title נשיא ישראל "Prince of Israel" was used among the Karaites, חזקיהו נשיא ישראל, ענן נשיא ישראל.

axiomatic that R. Akiba would not accept a semi-literate person as a Messiah; the sages of that period, and particularly Akiba, felt contempt for ignorant people.

Dr. Sonne is a scholar in his field in medieval Hebrew Bibliography. He knows of all the first editions, and the dates of the printing of every Hebrew book; but he could not resist the temptation to take part in the controversy about the Hebrew Scrolls although he is not equipped for it.[89]

The scholars who accepted the so called letter of Bar Kokba as authentic and who did not notice the difficulties in connection with it, now, after the publication by Professor G. Driver of the Persian Documents where the preposition "from"[90] is used at the beginning of the document, maintain that this document proves the authenticity of the Bar Kokba letters.

Since Bar Kokba proclaimed himself the king of the Jews, the Messiah, he would surely have followed the method used in writing letters in the Bible, and that employed by the kings of Judaea during the Second Commonwealth. He even might have used the form adopted by the Roman Caesars. He would certainly never have used, for example the form of a document by a Persian Satrap in Egypt dating back more than half a millennium previous. Would the first president of the State of Israel follow the form of the letter or document used by Saladin the king of Egypt in the twelfth century, instead of following the practice which prevailed among the Jews throughout the ages?[91]

[89] See *JQR*, 1951, pp. 156–163. If Dr. Sonne had read my article, for which he had sufficient time since it appeared in the July 1954 issue of *JQR*, he might have refrained from publishing his article which does not do justice to him and is not of credit to the Academy for Jewish Research.

[90] מן ארשום על ארתונות.

[91] Comp. *JQR*, 1955, p. 224.

Anyone who has seriously studied historical documents should have recognized that this letter could not have been written by Bar Kokba. Scholars, prominent in their own field, should not have accepted this letter as a genuine letter of Bar Kokba and should not have publicized it in popular articles and in the daily press.[91a]

Those who believe in the authenticity of the letter of Simon Bar Koseba or Bar Kokba, i. e., that Bar Kokba himself wrote the letter, have emended the text, as it contained not only many obscure and meaningless words, but ungrammatical sentences as well. Ginsberg,[92] Milik,[93] Sonne and Birnbaum[94] engaged in performing this task. Emendation of a manuscript must be based either on external evidence, i. e., on other manuscripts of the same text which have different readings, or on internal evidence, i. e., proof from the text itself that the reading is faulty. Ground for emendation is based on the assumption that a scribe who copied the manuscript made some errors; scholars then feel justified in emending an erroneous text, but no scholar has the right to emend a text which was written by the author himself. If there are misspellings or incorrectly used words, we must assume that the author did not know how to express himself. Ginsberg, Birnbaum and Company changed the words of Bar Kokba to improve his style. They virtually seek to instruct Bar Kokba how to write a letter correctly. They make arbitrary emendations without basis. The most fanciful, groundless emendation is that made by Dr. Birnbaum. All who dealt with this

[91a] See W. F. Albright, *The American Scholar*, Winter 1952–53. "Among the most unexpected items were two (*sic*) letters written by Bar Cochba, leader of the Jewish revolt of A. D. 132–135." Klausner, שנהון „דבר", תשט"ו: ומי מילל ומי פילל, שיימצאו בזמננו שני (*sic*) מכתבים אותנטיים של בר כוכבא.

[92] *BASOR*, Oct. 1953.

[93] *RB*, April, 1953.

[94] *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, January-April, 1954.

letter read [י]שעסת "as I did," before the words לבן עפלול. However, Dr. Birnbaum suggests that there is a *kof* instead of a *samech* and that it reads [א]שעקיב Akiba. He thinks that the text is to be read [א]עקיב [עשה] כמה ש "as Akiba did to Ben Aflul." The word עשה *"did"* is not in the text. Dr. Birnbaum says, "It is no wise surprising in a hastily written letter." How did Dr. Birnbaum conclude that Bar Kokba was in haste? What is the source of his information? Was it paleography that produced evidence of haste? This method is unscholarly, it is דרשנות homiletics characteristic of a מגיד *Magid*.

IV

Phylacteries

Some phylacteries among the recent "discoveries" were given prominence by Professor Albright in *BASOR*.[95] The custom of putting on phylacteries among the Jews arose in ancient times. One phylactery is worn on the forehead and the other on the left arm. Phylacteries contain four sections from the Pentateuch in following order, קדש Ex. 13.2–10; והיה כי יבאך *ibid.* 13.11–16; שמע Deut. 6.4–9; והיה אם שמע *ibid.* 11.13–21.[96]

The phylacteries of Babylonian Jewry and the Jewries of Egypt and Spain had a different order of the Pentateuchal passages. The section והיה אם שמע Deut. 11.13–21 was placed after the section of והיה כי יבאך Ex. 13.11–16.[97]

[95] *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, May, 1952; *Life*, June 15, 1953.

[96] Comp. Men. 34 ת"ר כיצד סדרן קדש לי, והיה כי יביאך מימין, שמע והיה שמוע משמאל. See also Mek.

[97] רב האי גאון היה מניח סימן הויית להדדי פירש והיה כי יביאך והיה אם שמוע והראיה הברורה בדבר זה נאמר בפרק הקומץ קורא על סדר התורה קדש לי, והיה כי יביאך, שמע, והיה אם שמוע, ונוסח זה לא היה בספרים שלנו בארץ מערב (Spain) אבל הנה מצאתי כל הנסחאות הישנות וכך כתוב בהן . . . ומעשה רב שבני ארץ ישראל כולן יהירין במצוה זו כסדר התורה. In our edition of the Talmud Men. 34, has

The phylactery which was "discovered" in the cave is in accordance with those used by the Babylonian Jews. Father de Vaux says that in the complete phylactery which was discovered the section of והיה אם שמע Deut. 11.13–21 followed the section of והיה כי יבאך Ex. 13.11–16.[98] The change of the order of the Pentateuchal passages was made by the Babylonian Amoraim or, more probably, by the Geonim of the Middle Ages.

The question which confronts us is, how could a Babylonian phylactery of the Middle Ages be "discovered" in a cave near the Dead Sea? We must assume that it was placed there at some time. No question was raised as to how the phylactery came to be discovered; it was just proclaimed to be a great find, and it was stated that it was part of property belonging to men in the army at the time of Bar Kokba.[99]

There was a controversy between Rashi (1030–1105) and his grandson, Rabbenu Tam, as to the order of the Pentateuchal passages to be placed in the phylacteries. Rashi followed the Palestinian custom, his grandson the Babylonian.[100] With the so called discovery of a phylactery in which the Babylonian custom was accepted, it was suggested that the finds in the cave put the view of Rabbenu Tam in a new light.[101] Archaeology, it was said, came magnificently to Rabbenu Tam's aid.[102] Clearly, the author of this assertion

קורא על סדר התורה קדש, והיה כי יביאך, שמע, והיה instead, והקורא קורא כסדרן אם שמוע. It was changed sometime in the geonic period. See further *JQR*, Oct. 1953.

[98] Nous avons, par contre, un phylactère complet .... Dans une écriture minuscule, mais très nette, elle contient, dans cet ordre, les trois passages d'Ex. XIII,1–10; Ex. XIII, 11–16; Deut. XI,13–21. Une petite pièce séparée, de même peau de de même écriture, porte de Shema. *RB*, Av. 1953.

[99] *Haaretz*, July 17, 1953. הנה זו הפעם הראשונה שיש בידנו תפילין מתקופת התנאים.

[100] See S. Zeitlin, *Religious and Secular Leadership*, p. 47.

[101] See *The Jewish Chronicle*, London, July 17, 1953.

[102] *Ibid.*

was unaware of the reason for the controversy between the two sages of the Middle Ages.[103]

It was claimed that there was a difference of opinion as to the number of Pentateuchal passages placed in the phylacteries. It was maintained that in the tannaitic period there were some who held that there should be five passages instead of four.[104] This view was based on a Mishne (Sanhedrin). The Mishne does not speak of any group of Jews who believed that there should be five sections. It is a misinterpretation of the Mishne. The said Mishne speaks about the Rebellious Elder. If a member of the court opposed a Pentateuchal injunction, he was not to be considered a Rebellious Elder and was not to be punished. However, if one opposed an injunction promulgated by the sages, he was so considered and therefore punished.[105] The reason for such a distinction was that the sages saw no menace to Judaism and to their authority if a member of the court opposed a Pentateuchal law; however, they saw great danger to Judaism and its institutions if one of their members openly opposed the laws promulgated by the sages.[106]

It had been also assumed that the Decalogue was placed in the *Tefillin* because of a statement by Jerome in his Commentary on Ezekiel, who said that some Jews told him that the Babylonian teachers encircle their heads with the Decalogue inscribed on parchment.[107] This is no proof that

[103] Comp. *JQR*, Oct. 1953.

[104] Habermann, על התפילין בימי קדם, ארץ ישראל ספר ג', אבל היו גם דעות אחרות, ובתוכן דעה, כי מספר הפרשיות הוא חמש (סנהדרין פי"א מ"ג ורפח, ב).

[105] זקן ממרא על פי בית דין . . . חומר בדברי סופרים מבדברי תורה האומר אין תפילין כדי לעבור על דברי תורה פטור, חמשה טוטפות הוסיף על דברי סופרים חייב, אין ממיתין אותו לא בבית דין שבעירו ולא בבית דין שביבנה . . . . נביא השקר . . .

[106] The injunction to place four Pentateuchal passages in the Phylacteries was promulgated by the sages.

[107] *Idem, ibid.* Aiunt Hebraei hucusque Babylonios magistros, legis praecepta servantes, decalogum scriptum in membranulis circumdare copiti suo . . . Comp. Habermann, *ibid.*

the Jews placed the Decalogue in their *Tefillin*. Jerome, who lived in Palestine and was acquainted with Jewish customs, refers only to the Jews of Babylonia and his statement is based on hearsay. The word phylactery in Greek and Latin has also the connotation of amulet, charm. Undoubtedly, many Babylonian Jews were superstitious and wore the Decalogue on their heads as a prevention from evil, but it was never placed in the *Tefillin*.

It was further suggested that the Pentateuchal sections which were read every morning in the Temple were those originally placed in the *Tefillin*, namely, the Decalogue; Deut. 6; 11; Num. 15.37–41.[108] This suggestion shows lack of comprehension of the historical development of Judaism. The reason that these sections are placed in the *Tefillin* is that they have the word לטוטפת which the sages interpreted to mean *Tefillin*.[109] Also, these portions contain והיה לך לאות על ידך ולזכרון בין עיניך "shall be for a sign there upon thine hand and for a memorial between their eyes."[110] This is not found in the sections in the portion of Numbers 15. The sages could not sanction placing the Decalogue in the *Tefillin* because there are two versions of the Decalogue, one in Exodus and the other in Deuteronomy. There are not only discrepancies but contradictions in these versions. We are told in Exodus to "Remember the Sabbath," which was instituted because God, after He had created heaven and earth rested on the seventh day; and He therefore blessed the Sabbath. The command in Deuteronomy is, "Observe the Sabbath day," and observance there is connected with the exodus from Egypt. No mention is made of the creation or of God's resting. Because of this variance

[108] *Ibid.* קרוב לוודאי, כי ארבע הפרשיות הקדומות היו אותן הפרשיות שעל פי תמיד פ"ה מ"א היו הכהנים קוראים אותן בבית המקדש, והן "עשרת הדיברות" "שמע" "והיה אם שמוע" "ויאמר".

[109] Ex. 13.11–16; Deut. 6; 11.

[110] Ex. 13.9.

the sages prevented the reading of the Decalogue outside the Temple for fear that heretics would find reasons for denying that the Decalogue was given by God since there were variations;[111] for this reason the Decalogue was not included in the organized morning daily prayers while the other sections of the Pentateuch which were recited daily in the Temple were included. The Pentateuchal sections of Deut. 6; 11; Num. 15 constitute a part of the morning daily prayers today.[112] The Decalogue was always popular with the Jews. Public reading of it was re-introduced in Babylonia from time to time. The Decalogue and *Shema* were read daily by some Jews of Babylonia regardless of the opposition of the sages.

The Nash papyrus containing the Decalogue and *Shema* which was discovered some time ago is of the 3rd or the 4th century CE when there was a movement in Babylonia to re-introduce the reading of them.[113] S. A. Cook was of the opinion that the Nash papyrus was of the 2nd century CE.[114] Professor Lacheman agreed with him[115] while Burkitt held that it was of the 1st century CE.[116] On the other hand, Professor Albright holds that the Nash papyrus belongs to the 1st century BCE.[117] This was the cardinal error of Dr. Albright in connection with Hebrew paleography. The Nash papyrus is of the 3rd or the 4th century CE and the other Hebrew scrolls are even later. Dr. Albright erred in dating the Nash papyrus and consequently he is in error in dating the Hebrew Scrolls.[118]

[111] Comp. *JQR*, 1954, pp. 334–6.
[112] שמע, והיה אם שמוע, ויאמר, אמת ויציב.
[113] Comp. *JQR*, 1954, p. 336.
[114] *PBSA*, 1902.
[115] *JQR*, 1949.
[116] *Ibid.* 1903.
[117] *JBL* 1937; *BASOR*, Oct. 1949.
[118] Comp. further below VIII "Paleography and Archaeology."

V

Other Finds

A document was discovered by Bedouin and published by Father R. de Vaux who stated that it belonged to the Bar Kokba period. The text of it reads, according to the transcription of Father de Vaux, as follows:

וכן הפרנשין של בית משכו כן ישוע וכן אלעזר
לישע בן גלגולא רוש המחניה שלום שידע
יהיה לך שהפרה שיקח יהוסף בן ארצטון מן יעקב
בן יהודה שיושב אבית משכו שהי שלו מן בנות
ואף אללי שהגוים קרבים אלנו אני עלתי והפצ
והפצתיך על ככה שלא תהי אמור מן בשרין
לא עלתי אצלך אהיה שלום וכל בית ישראל
ישוע בן אלעזר כתבה
אלעזר בן יהוסף כתבה
יעקוב בן יהודה על נפשה
שאול בן אלעזר עד
יהוסף בן יהוסף עד
יעקוב בן יהוסף מעיד

The first part deals with a transaction about a cow which a person[119] named Joseph bought from Jacob, the son of Judah. The second part does not make sense and the Hebrew is deplorable. It has been assumed that it was addressed to Yeshua b. Gilgol, and that he is the very person to whom it is alleged that Bar Kokba wrote a letter. What is strange is the spelling of the name of the father of Yeshua. It is spelled גלגלה in the letter, but גלגולא in the document. It is strange that either Bar Kokba or the leaders of the community did not know how to spell the name of

[119] *RB*, Avril, 1953.

the father of the commander, and it is indeed puzzling if he is the same man in the two documents.[120]

I. Rabinowitz gives another transcription and a translation. He renders lines 3–6 as follows:[121] "That it be known to thee that (as for) the cow which Joseph ben Ariston is taking over from Jacob ben Judah, that Beth Mashko certifies it that she is his by purchase. And also, if it were not that the Gentiles are approaching us, then I would go up. So disperse. And I have advised thee concerning this, that it may not be said (it is) because of disrespect (that) I have not gone up to thee." This translation was made after verbal surgery of the text.

O. H. Lehmann and S. M. Stern[122] rendered the same lines as follows: "Let it be known to you that the cow which Yehoseph b. Ariston is going to take from Jacob b. Judah who resides at Bet Mashke — that it belongs to him from spoils. Moreover, if the Romans were not near us, then I should have gone up and urged you in this matter, lest you should say from K . . . (?)" This translation was also made after the text had been manipulated, to be adjusted according to the grammars of Segal, Broekelmann and Dalman and also in accordance with the dictionary of Jastrow. The text in this deplorable Hebrew really is untranslatable.

There are six names at the end of the document, the first being Yeshua b. Eleazar, and the second Eleazar b. Joseph. The word כתבה is appended after each signature. Lehmann and Stern render the word "writer," indicating that these two men were the writers of the document.

[120] See further *JQR*, October, 1953.

[121] *BASOR*, October, 1953, שיישרא בית משכו שהי שלו בזבנות ואף אללי שהגיים קרבים אלנו אזי עלתי והפץ והעצחיך על ככה שלא תהי אמור מן בשרון לא עלחי אצלך.

[122] *Vetus Testamentum*, Oct. 1953.

As the article in the *Vetus Testamentum* was written by both of them, I wonder how they divided the labor, what part was written by Lehmann and what by Stern. I am sure, however, that the document about the cow was written by one person as the handwriting is the same throughout. Short deeds like this do not need two scribes. In the *JQR*, October 1953, I wrote that the first two signatures at the end of the document, Yeshua b. Eleazar and Eleazar b. Joseph, were these persons mentioned in the beginning of the document. The meaning of the word כתבה is that the document was written at their direction, and since they themselves could not write, a scribe had to be engaged to write for them, and their signatures were affixed to attest to the correctness of the statements therein. Upon examination of the signatures of these two men, one may see they were not expert in writing Hebrew, and neither was the scribe. In the Aramaic documents published by A. Cowley,[123] the name of the scribe is given at the end of the deed, who says that it was written at the direction of so and so, i. e., "Nathan b. Ananiah wrote this document at the direction of Mahseiah."[124] This was the accepted form of writing deeds. A special scribe was engaged for the purpose. The name of the scribe, however, is missing in the document signed by Yeshua b. Eleazar and Eleazar b. Joseph.

The third signature on the document is that of Jacob b. Judah. He is the same person mentioned above from whom the cow was bought. The expression על נפשה is used to indicate that he willingly sold the cow and signed for himself to confirm the sale.[125]

[123] *Aramaic Papyri of the 5th century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923.

[124] כתב נתן בר ענניא ספרא זנה כפם מחסיה; כתב נתן בר ענניה ספרא זנה כפם יהוחן.

[125] Comp. *JQR*, 1953, p. 97. See also Cowley, *ibid.* כתב מחסיה בכי נפשה.

The last three signatures are those of the witnesses. Following the signatures of each of the first two witnesses, the word עד is appended, whereas after the last signature, we have the word מעיד. Rabinowitz translated it "a testament," while Lehmann and Stern rendered it "bearing witness." In karaitic literature, however, we find the word מעיד is used in the sense of "witness" and it was used alternately with the word עד, e. g., אהרן צפי מעיד, יוסף פוקו עד, יוסף סכה מעיד . . . זכריה מסלי סהיד, שמואל בגי עד.

Lehmann and Stern translate the word שהגוים "the Romans." I wonder what basis they had for this rendering? The word גוים has the connotation "Gentiles" and not specifically the "Romans."

Dr. F. Cross said, "The documents of the Second Revolt will greatly illuminate a dark period when events of great significance in the history of Judaism and early Christianity transpired."[126] Let us grant that the so called Bar Kokba letter was written by Bar Kokba and that the document referring to the sale of the cow was written in his time (which I do not grant), they still would not illuminate any events of significance either in the history of Judaism or of early Christianity. They deal with trivial matters of no consequence. They were written by a semi-literate person and, moreover, they are of the medieval period.

Father Milik in the *Revue Biblique* published an Aramaic document, a deed of sale, which he stated was of the third year of the Bar Kokba revolt.[127] He produced a facsimile and gave a description with a commentary.[128] In the *BASOR* of December 1954, Professors S. Abramson and H. L. Ginsberg transcribed this document with an English

[126] *BA*, Feb. 1954.
[127] *RB*, 1954. See facsimiles XI–XII.
[128] See *ibid.*

translation and supplied notes.[128a] As was to be expected, they found ungrammatical expressions and hence resorted to emending the text. The text has אנתה, "You, Hadar." Abramson and Ginsberg emended it to read, אנה, "to me." These two scholars may be right in their reasoning that linguistically and legally the word אנתה must be emended to read אנה, but is it strange that an official scribe did not know the difference between "you" and "me."

There is a clause in this deed in which it is stated that Shalom, daughter of Simon, the wife of Hadar, said that she "may raise no objections to the sale of the house." This declaration did not legally bind her. She always could gain possession of the house of her husband Hadar for her unpaid Ketubah and her declaration under the halakot was void.[129] Furthermore, as the wife of Hadar she waives her lien on the house of her husband Hadar; whereas the signature on the deed which reads, "Shalom, the daughter of Simon,"[130] should have been Shalom, wife of Hadar. She had no lien as a daughter of Simon upon the property of her husband, but she had one because she was the wife of Hadar. The signature of Shalom presents a great enigma.

The document is dated שנת תלת לחרת ישראל "In the third year of Israel's freedom." There is the question, whether the land was free, except for the fortress of Beter in the third year of the Bar Kokba revolt? The revolt broke out in the year 132 CE. The Roman authorities at first paid little attention to it; however, when Hadrian saw the danger in the spread of the revolt, he recalled one of his best generals,

[128a] They apparently followed the advice of Qoh. 4.9, טובים השנים מן האחד.

[129] Comp. B. B. 49b. See also Git. 59b, Ket. 95a. Comp. also Tosefot *ad loc.*

[130] שלום ב[ר]ת שמעון על נפשה כתב[ה].

Julius Severus from Britain to suppress it. Almost the entire country was in the hands of the Romans by the end of the summer of 133. Emperor Hadrian already was in Rome by the beginning of May, 134. He had left Judaea in April, which in all probability indicates that the entire revolt had been suppressed. Bar Kokba fortified himself in the fortress of Beter to which the Romans laid siege; therefore, there is some difficulty about the date of the deed given as the third year of the freedom of Israel. Judaea again was a part of the Roman Empire. There are coins of the first year of the revolt which read "of the redemption of Israel."[131] There are also coins of the second year which bear the following inscription שב לחר ישראל, but there are no coins of the third year.

There is another question which must be raised. — How did this deed find its way into the cave? The scholars who maintained the antiquity of the Scrolls say that the caves either were storehouses for the Essenes, or that they lived there and had their own religious books. What could have been the purpose of the Essenes in storing away a deed written by an obscure Jew in an obscure location of an unimportant house? Insignificant documents dating from great antiquity have been found in Egypt, but they were preserved by nature and not by religious groups.[132] What was the purpose of a religious group in preserving or storing this ungrammatical deed?

In addition to the above mentioned "discoveries," fragments of almost the entire Bible were discovered as well as books of non-biblical literature. Dr. Cross reported that a part of the Book of Samuel was discovered. It is, he says, "a text quite at variance with the traditional Hebrew

[131] שנה אחת לגאולת ישראל, comp. ירושלים תש"ו, מלחמת בר כוכבא, שמואל ייבין.

[132] Milik identified כפר בביו with Bηβαι mentioned in Judith 15.4 (*RB* 1955, p. 253). However, most MSS have Bηναι.

text. In general it follows the readings found in the Hebrew manuscript used by the Greek translators of Samuel in the late third or early second century BC."[133] He says further that Commentaries on Isaiah and the Psalms were discovered. No Commentaries were written before the third or at the earliest the second century CE.[134] Furthermore, the Book of Psalms was not canonized before 65 CE, and no Commentary would have been written on a book which was not considered sacred. No significance can be attached to the finding of fragments of the Bible and apocryphal literature in the caves. The Jews read the Bible and many of the apocryphal books during the Middle Ages, and these fragments belong to the medieval *Geniza*. Yet some scholars still maintain that the Hebrew fragments found in the cave are of an early period notwithstanding the evidence against this.

We know from medieval literature that the rabbis made use of apocryphal books. We know that Saadia Gaon (882–942) had the Book of Jubilees.[135] Nachmanides (1194–1270) quotes from the apocryphal book, *The Wisdom of Solomon*.[136] He believed that the book was written by King Solomon, an opinion held by some writers as late as the 19th century. The compiler, or rather the editor of the book of the *Zohar*, which is a product of the Middle Ages, refers occasionally to the Book of Enoch and it is evident that he made use of a version of it.

There is a Midrash Noah which is based on an apocryphal book of Noah;[137] we also have a Midrash which contains

[133] *BA*, Feb. 1954.

[134] Comp. S. Zeitlin, "Midrash," *JQR*, 1953, pp. 21–36.

[135] *Idem. The Book of Jubilees.*

[136] See Gen. 1.1. וראיתי הספר המתורגם הנקרא חוכמתא רבתא דשלמה וכתוב בו . . . ונאמר שם . . .

[137] Comp. A. Jellinek, בית המדרש, . . . זה הספר מספרי הרזים שנתן לנח בן למך; comp. also *ibid.*, ספר חנוך.

fragments of the Testament of Judah and of the Testament of Naphtali.[138] Undoubtedly, copies of the entire Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, in Hebrew and Aramaic, were in existence during the Middle Ages. There were also two versions at that time of the apocryphal book of Tobit, one in Hebrew[139] and another in Aramaic,[140] two versions of Judith, and a Scroll of Antiochus a version based on the First Book of Maccabees. The book of Ben Sira was known to the rabbis in two versions, Hebrew and Aramaic.[141] Other apocryphal books in Hebrew and Aramaic were used by the Jews during the Middle Ages; therefore, it is no wonder that the Bedouin discovered apocryphal books in the cave which were in existence during the Middle Ages.

Professor Muilenberg ascribed the fragments of the book of Qoheleth to an Essene scribe. "The writing," he says, "is a beautiful specimen of Essene scribal art."[142] Where does one find Essene writings that give one the right to assume that their writings were artistic? It is evident, from the account of the Essenes as given by Josephus, that they accepted only the Pentateuch and did not consider the Ketubim holy.[143] Further, the book of Qoheleth was canonized in the Conclave of Jabneh which was held in the last decade of the first century CE.[144] At that time the Essenes were no longer in existence.

[138] Comp. R. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. 235–56.

[139] M. Gaster, *Two unknown Hebrew Versions of Tobit.*

[140] Neubauer, *The Book of Tobit.*

[141] Comp. Yeb. 63b; Nidah 16b; Yer. Hag. 2; Mid. R. Gen. 8. See Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, pp. 100–5.

[142] *BASOR*, 1954, p. 23.

[143] Comp. also Hippolytus, *Elenchos.*

[144] See S. Zeitlin, *A Historical Study of the Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*, 1933. "In any event," says Prof. Muilenburg, "we must reckon with the possibility that Qoh. had attained canonical status or

Father de Vaux stated that he found a fragment from the original Hebrew from the Book of Jubilees on which the following words were written:

כתחרן באחד
ר בהר היא בית אל
בית ויט מן הדרך
ח מאבני המקום

It is very doubtful if these words are part of the Book of Jubilees. It is more likely that they were from a midrash dealing with Jacob when he went to Haran, and about that dream of his as related in the Book of Genesis.[145] Even if we grant that this fragment is a part of the Book of Jubilees, it would not prove that it belongs to the period of the Second Commonwealth, for this book was in existence in the time of Saadia Gaon and was used by the rabbis.

I stated several years ago that more manuscripts and more scrolls, biblical books, commentaries, and apocryphal scrolls would be discovered by Bedouin in different caves, since the Jews and Karaites used and wrote Commentaries on biblical and apocryphal works. It is no wonder then that these writings are coming to light from various caves. In many instances they were placed there by some of the "discoverers." It was also announced that fragments of the *Pesher* Nahum were discovered, a work which greatly resembles the Scroll of the Commentary of Habakkuk. A photostat however has not yet been published and therefore we cannot pass any definite judgment, since the Kara-

something approaching it, in the Essene community by the middle of the second century B.C." The views in this book are contrary to those held by the Essenes. They would not revere a book which denied immortality of the soul.

[145] Comp. *JQR*, 1950, p. 48.

ites and other sectarians compiled Commentaries on different books of the Bible. The so called *Pesher* Nahum has no more historic value than the Scroll of the Commentary on Habakkuk.

The few biblical fragments which have come to light have readings different from the so called Masoretic text, and some correspond with those of the Septuagint. It was therefore held that the biblical fragments were pre-Masoretic and that the authors of the Septuagint might have used these readings. This theory is groundless. We have in the rabbinic literature thousands of various readings which differ from the so called Masoretic text, and many of them are identical with those in the Septuagint; this would not prove that the biblical manuscripts used by the rabbis in the tannaitic period, or even in the Middle Ages were more ancient than the so called Masoretic text, and it would be absurd to say that the authors of the Septuagint based their translations upon them. I myself collected more than a hundred different readings of the Book of Isaiah (some of them I published in the *JQR*, 1950). Many of them unquestionably are the correct readings, whereas in our Bible, that of the so called Masoretic text, the readings are faulty. Many of these readings from the rabbinic literature correspond with those in the Septuagint.

A very careful watch was maintained over the Pentateuch so that faulty readings should not creep into the text; nevertheless, we do find different readings in the tannaitic literature which are the correct ones, while those in the Masoretic text are faulty; and these readings in the rabbinic literature correspond with those in the Septuagint. I shall illustrate with the following examples.

In our so called Masoretic text, Deut. 6.20, we have אשר צוה . . . אתכם "as commanded you," whereas in the

Palestinian Talmud[146] and in the Mekilta we have אשר צוה . . . אותנו "as commanded us." This corresponds with the Septuagint[147] which, in my opinion, is the correct reading. In the same book, 28.66 our so called Masoretic text has לילה ויומם "night and day." The reading in the Targum of Jonathan is יומם ולילי "day and night," and this again is in accordance with the reading of the Septuagint,[148] and is the correct one. Hadasi,[149] the well known Karaite, reproached some sectarians who, he held, inserted words in the Pentateuch. In Gen. 4.8 our text has ויאמר קין אל הבל אחיו "And Cain said to Abel his brother," while the sectarian text had ויאמר קין אל הבל אחיו נצא השדה "And Cain said to Abel his brother, let us go out to the field." This reading corresponds to that in the Septuagint.[150] Again we find in the same book that the reading of the Masoretic text is ויאמרו לו מצאנו מים "And they said to him we found water." The Septuagint reading is, "We did not find water." These two versions are reflected in the Midrash. As late as the 3rd or the 4th centuries CE the rabbis had both readings,[151] and they could not decide whether or not the servants of Isaac found water.

These citations represent only a few of the many passages of the Bible for which the rabbis had different readings, which were in accordance with the Septuagint. Hence, we may conclude that the fact that fragments of the Bible which have been found which have different readings does not indicate that they date from antiquity on the ground that the Septuagint was based upon them.

[146] Pes. 10.
[147] *ὅσα ἐνετείλατο . . . ἡμῖν.*
[148] *ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.*
[149] אשכל הכפר.
[150] *διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.* See Targum Jonathan, *ad loc.*
[151] אין אנו יודעין אם מצאו אם לא מצאו.

VI

Scrolls Purchased by the Hebrew University

The four scrolls, the "Book of Isaiah," the "Commentary of Habakkuk," the so called "Manual of Discipline" and a scroll named "Lemech" originally were purchased from Bedouin by the Archbishop Samuel of the St. Mark Church. Later they were brought to the United States of America, and the American Schools of Oriental Research made photostats of the text of the first three, and gave a description of it. The original price for these scrolls was more than five million dollars. In a dispatch from Brussells published in the *New York Times*, July 26, 1953, it was said that the Archbishop was asking a million dollars for one of the manuscripts. These three scrolls, together with another, (the so called Lemech) which has not yet been opened, were purchased for the Hebrew University for $250,000. Dr. Albright in a letter said that this price was a "bargain." If the scrolls really belong to the time of the Second Commonwealth, they are worth millions, particularly since it has been maintained that this Isaiah Scroll was the very one from which Jesus read when he was given the book of Isaiah to read in the synagogue at Nazareth.[152] A quarter-million is indeed a low price even for the one scroll of Isaiah, since it was used by Jesus. Dr. Albright gives the reason for such a low price, "You perhaps ought to thank Prof. Zeitlin's incredible propaganda against their antiquity, which has long since been proved to the hilt by further excavations."[153] I never indulge in propaganda. I based my conclusions against the antiquity of the scrolls on scien-

[152] See *Réforme*, March 24, 1951; comp. also Dupont-Sommer, *Les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, p. 25.

[153] See *The Jewish Chronicle*, Feb. 18, 1955, comp. *ibid.*, March 18, 1955.

tific research. In spite of the propaganda in which Dr. Albright and others engaged in the daily press and radio, to uphold the antiquity of the scrolls, no responsible institution here or in other countries was interested in buying them. Many institutions had been interested in them when they first were brought to America, but later they were reluctant to buy them. The Archbishop became desperate as there were no buyers. The insurance premiums on the scrolls had become a burden on him, and he had to resort to advertising them for sale in the *Wall Street Journal.*

Since the scrolls are not of great antiquity, but of the Middle Ages, the price paid was not a "bargain" but excessive. I believe that ten or fifteen thousand dollars would have been a high price.

The reasons for my contentions that the Scrolls are of a late period are detailed in my writings and I shall summarize them here.

The spelling of the words in the Isaiah Scrolls is on a par with the spelling in many writings of the Middle Ages, as עניה סחורה instead עניה סערה; ותאסר instead ותאבד; אכס instead אכס; ירקב instead ירבק; מדבר instead דבר; זאת instead זואת, זוהז; אפס instead אפס; למרטים instead תפלט; תפלט instead תפלס.[154] The misspellings of the words are an indication that the scroll was written by an uneducated Jew. No Jew in the Second Commonwealth could have written the scrolls. At that time only those who knew Hebrew wrote, but those who did not, did not write. Not only are words missing in the text, but phrases and full verses, which again show that

[154] Comp. *Yerushalmi Fragments*, ed. L. Ginzberg. באימה for בימא; מטמים for מטמאים; מסריר for מסתיר; כילאין for כלאים; מיצתטיק for מצטמק; יסטרפו for יצטרפו; עדיד for עתיד; ליו for לאו; להינטל for לינטל; להבטלה for לבטלה. Comp. also Manual of Discipline, צטרכת for צרכת; יכחס for יכעס. The words are written *plene*, להברך for לברך, עואר for עור, מושה, נוח. The method of writing *plene* was in vogue in the Middle Ages, ראבי, ראבינא, ראבא, פאפא, לישאנא, גמארא. The word זאת was written זואת, זוהז, זות. Comp. *JQR*, 1950, pp. 25–32.

the scrolls were written by a man who did not know the Hebrew language.[154a]

a. The *matres lectionis* are used in the Scrolls; as a matter of fact, these letters came into usage in the writings of the Bible in the time of Rabbi Akiba. He was responsible for introducing the *matres lectionis* in the Holy Scriptures, and he said that יש אם למקרא[155] the pronunciation of the words is authoritative. It is true that the *matres lectionis* were used in secular writings to simplify the Hebrew language before the time of Rabbi Akiba, but they were introduced in the Holy Scriptures by his authority. The author of the Isaiah Scroll used the five final letters מנצפך of the Hebrew alphabet. These letters came into use in the Bible later than the time of Rabbi Akiba. The medial *mem* was still used at the end of the word in the Pentateuchal Scroll found in Rome.[156]

In the Isaiah Scroll, Cap. 21.1, the scribe wrote רחוקה and then apparently discovered that he had made a mistake, so he drew a line through the word ~~רחוקה~~ and wrote the correct word נוראה above. When a scribe during the Second Jewish Commonwealth as well as in the tannaitic period made a mistake in writing a letter or word, he put dots above it to indicate it was wrong, or he erased the letter or word and wrote the correct one.[156a] The system of drawing a line through a letter or word to indicate that it was written by mistake came into vogue quite late. We do find lines drawn through a letter or word in the medieval manuscripts to indicate that the copyist made a mistake and wrote the correct word above. The fact that the scribe drew a line in the Isaiah Scroll through a word to indicate that he wrote this by mistake, and that he wrote the correct

[154a] Comp. further *JQR*, *ibid.*
[155] Sanh. 5. Comp. *JQR*, 1951, pp. 156–8.
[156] *Ibid.* 1949, 62, 65.
[156a] See above p. 4.

word above is a clear indication that this Scroll was not of the pre-Christian period. Incidentally, the word רחוקה which the scribe originally wrote is based on Kimhi's interpretation of this particular passage.[157]

The sign X is found several times on the margin of the Isaiah Scroll. Dr. Teicher is of the opinion that this sign is an abbreviation of *Christos*, and had been affixed there by the Judaean Christians. This view is far-fetched and cannot be considered seriously. There are no signs X on the margin of the passages of Isaiah which the early Church Fathers maintained referred to Jesus, as in Chs. 8.8; 9.5; 11.1–10. If this sign X had been written by the Judaean Christians, we should expect it to be found on the margin of those passages which had a Christological meaning for them. Dr. Teicher follows with his arguments:

> "The conclusions affirmed by the re-examination of the problem of the sign X in the Isaiah Scroll are, thus, that this sign is in origin the ancient Hebrew *taw*, as derived from the text of Ezekiel, and that its meaning is *Christos*. This might appear too complicated to be correct; but fortunately we find a parallel phenomenon among the Rabbis who, as shown by Professor Lieberman, attached a Greek meaning to the sign X and at the same time regarded the sign as the ancient Hebrew letter *taw*. If this was good enough for the Rabbis, there is no cause to wonder as Dr. Sonne does, why the Judaeo-Christians of the Isaiah Scroll should have had 'a system of signs based on Greek letters and terms.' "[158]

I believe Dr. Teicher should not have confined himself to Professor Lieberman's book in making such a radical statement. He should have quoted the passage upon which Lieberman supports his opinions. The reader should have the book available to check Lieberman's statement. Dr. Teicher says, "If it was good enough for the Rabbis . . ."

[157] מארץ נוראה, מארץ רחוקה והוא מדי ופרס שהם רחוקים מבבל.

[158] *Vetus Testamentum*, 1955, pp. 189–198.

There is no place in the Talmud or in the Midrash where the rabbis attached a Greek meaning to the sign X; therefore, the entire theory of Dr. Teicher does not hold water. His conclusions are based on a wrong premise.

As to Professor Lieberman's statement, it is strange that such a scholar as he should have made a blunder in connection with a simple text of the Midrash.

Professor Lieberman wrote,[159] "We read in *Tanḥuma*: תיו של דיו כדי שלא ישלטו בהם מלאכי חבלה וימותו מיד "The *taw* of ink was [was set on the righteous] in order that the destroying angels may have no power [to torture] them *and they will die immediately*." (Lieberman's italics) "...The ink-mark has served as a sign of death, whereas the blood-mark has served as a sign of salvation." Unfortunately, Professor Lieberman rendered this Midrash wrongly. The text reads as follows: חוץ משני דברים שחל הקב"ה שמו עליהן אעפ"י שהן לרעה ... והשניה ויאמר ה' אלו עבר בתוך העיר בתוך ירושלם והתוית תו על מצחות האנשים ... א"ל הקב"ה לגבריאל לך ורשום על מצחן של צדיקים תי"ו של דיו כדי שלא ישלטו בהם מלאכי חבלה וימותו מיד ועל מצחם של רשעים תי"ו של דם כדי שישלטו בהם מלאכי חבלה, נכנסה קטיגוריא לפני הקב"ה אמרה לפניו רבש"ע מה נשתנו אלו מאלו, אמר לה הקב"ה הללו צדיקים גמורים והללו רשעים גמורים אמרה לו היה בידם למחות ולא מיחו ... מיד חזר הקב"ה ואמר למלאכי חבלה זקן בחור ובתולה טף ונשים תהרגו[160]. "God said to Gabriel he should mark on the foreheads of the righteous a *taw* of ink in order that the destroying angels should *not* have power over them *and they should not die immediately*"[161] (Italics mine). Lieberman's conclusion, based on his rendering of the Midrash, namely, "The ink mark had served as a sign of death" is erroneous.

[159] *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, p. 190.

[160] See Shab. 55, מעולם לא יצתה מדה טובה מפי הקב"ה וחזר בה לרעה חוץ מדבר זה ... אמר לו הקב"ה לגבריאל לך ורשום על מצחן של צדיקים תיו של דיו שלא ישלטו בהם מלאכי חבלה ועל מצחם של רשעים תיו של דם ...

[161] Comp. also Rashi, Ezek. 9.4, הצדיקים כדי להיות לאות שלא יפנעו בם המשחיתים.

Commentary of Habakkuk

3. No Commentaries or Midrash were written on biblical books during the Second Jewish Commonwealth. The first Commentary on the Bible was the Targum of Jonathan. The first Midrash was written on the books of the Pentateuch and this also was after the destruction of the Temple, while Midrashim on the Bible were written even later. Many terms used in the Commentary of Habakkuk came into use in the Middle Ages through the Karaites and the rabbis. The term פשר which occurs frequently in the Commentary is often found in karaitic literature. Hadasi in his book uses the expression פשר.[162] The terms גמר קץ, הקץ האחרון were employed after the catastrophe of Bar Kokba. The term מורה צדק "Teacher of Righteousness" was coined by the Karaites, who maintained that their teachers were righteous.[163] They called מורה שקר the leaders of the Rabbanites, teachers of falsehoods. They also called them deceivers and accused them of spreading falsehoods, כזב מדברים.[164]

Internal evidence shows that the author of the Commentary of Habakkuk made use of the Targum of Jonathan. On Chapter 1.16 the Commentator has, המה זבחים לאותותם "to their standards." This interpretation is based on the Targum of Jonathan, ומסיק בוסמין לסמותיה. The Commentator interpreted the word קריה "Jerusalem," and so does the Targum of Jonathan. The author of the Commentary interpreted the passage as follows: הס מלפניו כל ה[א]רץ פשרו . . . וביום המשפט יכלה אל את כל עובדי העצבים. The word הס, he interprets יכלה destruction. This again is based on the Targum of Jonathan, ויסופו מן קדמוהי כל דחלת ארעא.[165]

[162] פשר זו שאמר הנה שמתיך . . .; פשר דת אבו עסי; פשר כל אלה; פשר בירורי.
[163] Comp. also P. R. Weis, *JQR*, 1950, pp. 143–154.
[164] Comp. לקוטי קדמוניות; אשכל הכפר.
[165] Comp. also Rashi Sanh. 7b יכלה על עון.

"The interpreter," Dr. Brownlee says, "took the word [בהיכל] *bhykl* ("in the Temple") as an abbreviation of B(ywm) H(mshpt) YKL(h)" [ביום המשפט יכלה] "on the Day of Judgment He will destroy." Every letter of the last Hebrew word except one appears to be drawn from the word [בהיכל] "in-the-temple."[166] He did not know that the Commentator rendered the word הס as did the author of the Targum of Jonathan by יכלה "destruction." There is no acrostic on the word. This is a good example of how the biblical scholars in not knowing the medieval rabbinic literature invent interpretations and distort the meaning of the passages with which they deal.[167]

The So Called Manual of Discipline

One of the Scrolls which supposedly was found in a cave in Ain Feshka and was recently purchased by the Hebrew University has been designated the Manual of Discipline. It also has been assigned to great antiquity, and the general opinion adopted is that it is an Essene work. Detailed study of the Scroll shows that it was written in the Middle Ages by an uneducated Jew who either belonged to one of the karaitic sects or was influenced by one of them.

I shall show that it undoubtedly was written by such a person by a few abstracts from the text.

ולא ללכת עוד בשרירות לב אשמה ועיני זנות לעשות כול רע ולהבי
את כול הנדבים לעשות חוקי אל בברית חסד להוחד בעצת אל ולהתהלך
לפניו תמים כל הנגלות למועדי תעודותם ולאהוב כול בני אור איש
כגורלו בעצת אל ולשנוא כול בני חושך איש כאשמתו בנקמת אל וכול
הנדבים לאמתו יביאו כול דעתם וכוחם והונם ביחד אל לברר דעתם
באמת חוקי אל וכוחם לתכן כתם דרכיו . . . .
שפתים יברכני עם קצים אשר חקקא ברשית ממשלת אור עם תקופתו

[166] *BA* 1951, p. 70.
[167] *JQR*, 1955, pp. 210–11, n. 57a.

ובהאספו על מעון חוקו ברשית אשמורי חושך כי יפתח אוצרו וישתהו עלת ובתקופתו עם האספו מפני אור באופיע מאורות מזבול קודש עם האספם למעון כבוד במבוא מועדים לימי חודש יחד תקופתם עם מסרותם זה לזה בהתחדשם הם גדול לקודש קודשים ואות נ למפתח חסדיו עולם לראשי מועדים בכול קץ נהיה ברשית ירחים למועדיהם וימי קודש בתכונם לזכרון במועדיהם תרומת שפתים הברכנו כחוק חרות לעד בראשי שנים ובתקופת מועדיהם בהשלם חוק תכונם יום משפטו זה לזה מועד קציר לקיץ . . .

ברוך אתה אלי הפותח לדעה ב עבדכה הכן בצדק כול מעשיו והקם לבן אמתכה כאשר רציתה לבחירי אדם להתיצב לפניכה לעד כיא מבלעדיכה לוא תתם דרך.

ליחד בתכונים האלה

ובהיות אלה בישראל יבדול מתוך מושב הנשי העול ללכת למדבר לפנות שם דרך הואהא כאשר כתוב במדבר פנו דרך . . . ישרו בערבה . . .

This Hebrew is certainly not that of the Second Jewish Commonwealth nor of the Mishne. As was said before, only those who knew how to write during that period wrote.

Some words were written *plene*. משה was written with a *waw* after the *mem* מושה. כהן was written with a *waw* after the *koph* כוהן. כעס was written with a *heth* instead of an *ayin* כחס, similar to the instance in the Isaiah Scroll where we have ענייה סחורה instead of עניה סערה.

The author did not use the word אדני, יהוה the Lord. Instead he substituted אל. In his hymn he bestowed a blessing on God in the following words, ברוך אתה אלי "Blessed be Thou, O my God." It is true that we have the word *Eli* in Hebrew literature, but there is no such expression as ברוך אתה אלי. We do have the expression ברוך אתה אדני in the Bible, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord." The author who was apprehensive of using the word אדני thought that the *yod* at the end of the word אדני signified the possessive mine. He therefore wrote in the blessing the word אלי instead of אדני. Such ignorance could not have

occurred among the Jews of the Second Commonwealth;[168] moreover, the Jews of that time were not afraid to write אדני as is well indicated in the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature, and in the talmudic and midrashic literature.

In the karaitic doxology we find the same expression, אודה לאלי, "I will give thanks to my God," is used instead of אודה לאדני, "I will give thanks unto the Lord." The expression קומה אלי "Rise up, O my God," instead of קומה אדני "Rise up, O Lord," is used.[169]

In quoting the words of Isaiah פנו דרך יהוה ישרו בערבה the author of the Scroll has ישרו בערבה . . . פנו דרך. Since he does not use the word יהוה *Adonai* he placed ellipses to indicate he omitted the word יהוה. The method of placing ellipses to indicate omission of a word was not resorted to during the Second Commonwealth or during the tannaitic period;[170] hence, one must conclude that this Scroll was written during a later period, and the indications are clear that it was written during the Middle Ages.

The word יחד is used frequently in the Scroll as אנשי היחד which was rendered "the men of the community"; again, עצת היחד was rendered "the council of the community." It has been suggested that the word יחד refers to a particular sect during the Second Commonwealth, and some even identified it with the Essenes. This is without foundation. We know from karaitic literature that the Karaites called themselves יחידים, תמימים. I shall give a few examples: קהל המיחדים, על פי יחידים, ויחידים ותמימים, תמימי דרך, היחידים והמיחדים, לא היו מקדשים היחידים.[171]

[168] Incidentally, the same error appears in the glossary, in a book *Judaism*, recently published where we have the definition: "*Adonai*: My Lord — one of the names of God." See above pp. 23–4.

[169] מעשי אלי. Comp. also *The Chronicle of Ahimaaz*, אתן צדק לאלי.

[170] See *JQR*, 1953, p. 106.

[171] יחידי אל, אל יחידיך, פזורי היחידה, יחידתי לאל תדרש, בני מיחדים, יחידי אל, ראש מיחדיו (karaitic doxology).

Mas'udi who lived in the time of Saadia Gaon called the Jews the masses, מן השמיתין והם ההמון. On the other hand he applied the term יחוד to the Ananaites (Karaites). Aaron ben Elijah even mentioned a karaitic book entitled ספר היחוד. The author of the said scroll either was a member of a seceding group of the Karaites, or he was influenced by their writings. There can be no doubt that the author lived during the Middle Ages.

The Zadokite Fragments

One can not deny the great similarity between the so called Manual of Discipline and the Zadokite Fragments. Not only are the same words and similar views expressed in both texts, as the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel," משיח מאהרון וישראל, but sentences are found which are identical:

M. D.	Z. F.
ביד שר האורים	ביד שר האורים
הסרך למושב	הסרך למושב
הואהא כאשר כתב	הוא ואשר אמר
מדרש התורה	מדרש התורה
אנשי היחד	אנשי היחיד
ובכל מקום אשר יהיה עשרה אנשים מעצת היחיד אל ימש מאתם איש כוהן	ובמקום עשרה אל ימש איש כהן

The parallelism between these two texts unquestionably indicates a great affinity between them. It is uncertain whether the author of the so called Manual of Discipline had made use of the text of the Zadokite Fragments or vice versa. Of one thing we can be sure and this is, that the *Fragments* are a medieval composition. The script is of a late period; some words even have vowels, which is a clear indication that they were written in the

Middle Ages. The spelling, or rather the misspelling of words and the faulty construction of the Hebrew make many passages unintelligible. These show a striking parallel to the text of the so called Manual of Discipline, and this again leads us to assume that both texts were written in the medieval period by an unlearned Jew or a Karaite.

The Fragments were found in a *Geniza* collection in Cairo, Egypt. Schechter who published them, maintained that they were of the pre-Hasmonean period, and Charles and other scholars followed suit. The only one who had the courage to challenge this contention was A. Büchler. He maintained that these Fragments were of the Middle Ages and the work of the Karaites.[172]

Recently, with the so called discovery of the Scrolls by Bedouin in a cave, interest in the Fragments has been revived, owing to the fact that the so called Manual of Discipline and the Commentary on Habakkuk have words and phrases which are identical with those found in the Fragments. The opinion previously held by scholars of the great antiquity of the Fragments was revived. Elsewhere I pointed out that Büchler's theory that they are of the medieval period and are the work of a Karaite undoubtedly is correct.[173]

The expression מורה צדק "The Teacher of Righteousness" which occurs in both the Fragments and in the Commentary on Habakkuk is of a karaitic origin and never occurs in any literature before the period in which the Karaites flourished. Similarly, other expressions like משכיל, בני הצדוק, סוד קודש are found in the karaitic literature. The Fragments speak of men who are נאנחים ונאנקים "The men that sigh and cry." This is an expression used in the karaitic literature

[172] *JQR*, 1913, comp. also Weis, *ibid*, 1950, Marmorstein, *TT*, 1918.
[173] *The Zadokite Fragments*, 1952.

for the Karaites, particularly the אבלי ציון "The Mourners for Zion."[174]

The halaka found in these Fragments shows clearly to any one acquainted with the history and development of the halaka that the Fragments could not have been written in the pre-Christian period. On p. 11 the following halaka is recorded: "No man shall walk after the animal to feed it outside of the city more than two thousand cubits."[175] The law that a Jew may walk two thousand cubits and no more on the Sabbath day outside the city was introduced either a few years before the destruction of the Temple or, perhaps later.[176] On p. 12 the following halaka is recorded. ואת עבדו ואת אמתו אל ימכר להם אשר באו עמו בברית אברהם "Nor shall he sell them his man-servant or maid-servant, who entered with him into the Covenant of Abraham." The term "Covenant of Abraham" is used here for circumcision. This term came into vogue in the second century CE. Resort to the words, "Covenant of Abraham" was in opposition to Paul who denied the necessity of circumcision. He maintained that God had made a covenant with Abraham before the latter was circumcised. The first person who applied the term, "Covenant of Abraham" to circumcision was R. Eleazar of Modin. Hence the words ברית אברהם "Covenant of Abraham" as synonymous with circumcision show clearly that the Fragments had been written much later than the destruction of the Temple.[177]

There are other halakot in the Fragments which are in agreement with the karaitic laws. The prohibition to marry a niece on the maternal side, which is laid down in the Fragments, was also enacted by Anan.[178] On p. 11 the following

[174] Comp. *ibid*, p. 22.
[175] אל ילך איש אחר הבהמה לרעותה חוץ מעירו כי אם אלפים אמה
[176] *Op. cit.*, pp. 12–13.
[177] *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.
[178] See *ibid.*, p. 15.

law is recorded: (י)ואל ישאב אל כל כל "He shall not draw into any vessel." We have this identical law, even with the same phraseology in karaitic literature.[179]

There is another characteristic similarity between the Fragments, the Manual of Discipline and the Commentary of Habakkuk. There are in all three works passages of poor Hebrew construction which makes them unintelligible and show that the authors lacked a knowledge of Hebrew.

The Fragments have been edited by Schechter, Charles, Levi and Lagrange. Because of the ungrammatical, unintelligible passages in the text, they have arbitrarily emended them according to their whim without basic support. The latest edition of this text with a translation was published by Rabin.[180] This rendering is most fanciful and baseless, and his emendations are without support and authority. On p. 3 the text reads ויכרת זכורם במדבר להם בקדש עלו ורשו את רוחם. This passages does not make any sense. Schechter emended it to read as follows: "Therefore He exterminated their males in the desert when He spake to them in the desert in Kadesh, go up and possess the land, and they provoked His spirit." Levi and Ginzberg further emended the text to make it readable. Rabin translated this passage as follows: "And their males were cut off in the desert. <And he spoke> to them at Kadesh: 'Go ye up and possess <the land', but they chose the desire of> their own spirit." The words "and he spoke" as well as "the land," "but they chose the desire of," are not found in the text and Rabin has no authority to add the words he does, or even the parentheses. It is apparent that the author did not know how to write Hebrew, and each scholar emended the text according to his own fancy. On p. 10 the text has אל יטהר במה כלי וכל גבא בסלע אשר אין בו די מרעיל אשר נגע

[179] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[180] *The Zadokite Documents*, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1954.

בו הטמא וטמא מימיו. Again, the passage is obscure. Schechter emended the text to try to make sense, and his translation reads as follows: "None shall cleanse in the waters of a vessel. And every pool in a rock in which there is not sufficient water for immersion." Rabin's translation reads as follows: "Let no man bathe in water that is dirty or less than the quantity that covers up a man. Let him not purify a vessel in it. As for every rock-pool in a rock in which there is not a quantity to cover up a man . . ." This is the most fanciful of all the renderings. The text is meaningless, written by an uneducated Jew, and there is no warrant for emending such a text. The fact that it has been edited by many scholars, and each has emended it arbitrarily indicates the folly of editing it. Herewith are a few more examples of Rabin's translations. The passage אל יתהלך איש בשדה לעשות את עבודת חפצו השבת, Rabin translates as follows: "Let no man walk about in the field on the *Sabbath* in order to do the work he requires <after> the Sabbath *ends*." On what authority does Rabin insert the word "after" and "ends"? The words are not in the text. The words בית השתחות he translates as follows: "And everyone who enters the house of <meeting in order to> pray (lit.: makes obeisance)." The word *pray* is not in the text and Rabin has no authority for this insertion. He adds, in the Notes, "Restored according to MH." The words בית השתחות never occur in the Mishne. They are a rendering of the Aramaic בית סגידי which occurs in the Targumim. In the Middle Ages בית מסגד referred to a mosque. The phrase, מדרש התורה Rabin translates, "The investigation of the Law." He adds in a note the following comment: "Same as *din torah* Baba Mezi'a 30b." The words דין תורה have the connotation, in accordance with the strict meaning of the law and never in the sense of "investigation of the Law." The word נסתרות Rabin

rendered as follows: "hidden things." He explained this rendering in a note as follows: "Cf. MH *sithre torah* 'laws discovered by deduction." The words סתרי תורה *sithre torah* in the Mishne or in the Talmud never refer to laws discovered by deduction. These are a few examples of the many errors in Rabin's edition of the text.

The words ספר מחלקת העתים are rendered by Rabin: "The Book of the Divisions of Time." He says, in a note, "Since the book has been found to have existed in the Ain Feshkha cave, there is no doubt that Jub. is meant." So far only announcements have been made about the discovery of the Book of Jubilees; the text has not been produced. Father de Vaux published a fragment which he identified as a part of the original Hebrew Book of Jubilees, but it is instead part of a midrash dealing with the story of Jacob and his dream;[181] Rabin's statement that no doubt the Book of Jubilees is meant is groundless. On the contrary, the author of the *Fragments* in referring to a book ספר מחלקת העתים "The Divisions of Seasons according to their jubilees and their weeks," could not have had in mind the book of Jubilees. Elsewhere I pointed out that the author of the Fragments followed a lunar-solar calendar while the author of the Book of Jubilees stresses a solar calendar, and that he reproaches in severe terms those who followed a lunar calendar.[182]

It is probable that the book, "Divisions of the Seasons," mentioned in the Fragments never existed, but was a figment of the author's imagination. The Karaites had a fancy for inventing titles of books which supposedly were written by their predecessors.[183]

In the Fragments the words משטמה and עירים appear.

[181] Above p. 48.
[182] *The Zadokite Fragments*, pp. 15–18.
[183] See *ibid.*, p. 18.

Since the former word is found in the Book of Jubilees and the latter in the Book of Enoch, scholars have maintained that they are of great antiquity as they show that the author was acquainted with the apocryphal books. They particularly emphasize the fact that the word עירים is found only in the Book of Enoch and in the Fragments. Their view and the reasons therefore are baseless. The word משטמה *mestemah* occurs in the מדרש נח which is a medieval composition. The word עירים watchers appears in the *Zohar* which also is a medieval composition, and it occurs quite frequently in the karaitic literature.[184]

Dr. Rabin says in the preface: "Since a fragment of Z. (Zadokite Fragments) has now been found at Khirbet Qumran, we need not hesitate to mark these writings, too, by the letters D S." It is true that an announcement was made that a new fragment of the Zadokites had been discovered in a cave. So far as we know the text has never been published to enable us to ascertain whether or not it was a part of the Zadokite Fragments. Dr. Rabin has accepted it as authentic. Has he seen the text? If so, why did he not give us a summary of the contents? Why has he not given us some information about the script? Is it archaic, or is it of the same type as we have in the Zadokite Fragments? The script of the Fragments is of the late medieval period. How does he know it is a part of the fragments? Is it not more likely that someone brought it from a *Geniza* and *placed it in the cave*?

We have mustered an array of evidence to show that these scrolls were written during the Middle Ages. Our conclusions were based on internal evidence. Words, terms and phrases which appear in the scrolls came into vogue in the Middle Ages and hence could not have been used

[184] עירין וקדישין, see *JQR*, 1953, p. 109.

by authors living in ancient times. The laws which are referred to in the Scrolls are of a later date. Similarly, if one assigned to Shakespeare the authorship of a newly found manuscript wherein there were words like telephone, automobile, Reds, Pinks, etc. and reference was made to laws which were enacted in the time of Victoria, would any student of English literature regard the manuscript as authentic? A similar reason applies with respect to our scrolls. Also, the modern methods of punctuation, such as a line drawn over a word to indicate it was written by mistake; the use of ellipses to indicate that the author omitted a word; a connecting line between two words to indicate that there is to be no space between the two words, show that the scrolls are of the medieval period. Ideas, words, phrases and the halakot are parallel to those in karaitic literature; hence it is evident that these scrolls were written by some group of the Karaites. We may even say they are representative of a seceding group of the karaitic sect, and the time could be from the seventh century and down.

There were many movements among the Jews in the East, even before the advent of the Karaites; a number of people proclaimed themselves messiahs. There was a man named Abu Isa at the end of the seventh century whom the well known Karaite Hadasi called ignorant לץ ובער היה.

Abu Isa could neither read nor write; he was a tailor by trade. He declared himself a prophet sent by God, the messiah to free the Jews from beneath their yoke and return them to the Holy Land. The fact that he supposedly composed some writings, which was considered a miraculous event among his followers, substantiated with them his claim to be messiah. He gathered an army of more than ten thousand and declared war against the local Moslem governor. He was killed, but many of his followers refused to

believe this, holding that he had gone into hiding in a cave, and that he would return in the proper time. Another person named Yudgan in the beginning of the eighth century claimed to be messiah. His followers believed even after his death that he was alive and would reappear in the proper time. They did not eat meat nor drink wine; they were strict ascetics. Another sect was named Magarians by Kirkisani, so called because they lived in caves, and their books had been stored in a cave (magār). There was another well-organized ascetic sect who called themselves, אבלי ציון "Mourners for Zion." These were designated "The Men that Sigh and Cry," נאנחים ונאנקים. This term is found in the fragments and also in karaitic literature, as it was a designation employed by them.[185]

An Explanation Is Desideratum

I had previously advanced all these arguments against the antiquity of the scrolls, and no one has refuted them. The scholars all looked for parallelism of ideas between those in the scrolls and those held by the sects during the Second Commonwealth. If someone would muster a similar array of arguments for the antiquity of the scrolls which could not be refuted, I should certainly admit my "error." I therefore dare say that the duty of the scholars who maintain the great antiquity of the scrolls is first and foremost to refute my arguments. I believe that Dr. Albright who is primarily responsible for the erroneous contention as to the antiquity of the scrolls should exert the greatest effort to do so. Incidentally, he never wrote a scientific article at length on the Scrolls. A short article by him appeared in the July 1949 issue of the *JQR*, and this was at my request. He wrote there, "It is not part of my purpose to discuss the contents of the Scrolls here, partly because they

[185] *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

are still imperfectly, not to say fragmentarily, published, but also because I am not competent in rabbinics and cannot venture to measure myself against so eminent a rabbinic scholar as Dr. Zeitlin." Another article by him appeared in *BASOR* since then. He has made *ex-cathedra* statements, delivered radio talks, given out interviews to the press and indulged in popular writings. The scholarly world has a right to expect that so eminent an archeologist and outstanding scholar of the Ancient Near East should refute my arguments.

There must be also an explanation as to why there was suppression of the *Haftorah* Scroll, which Wechsler saw when he was invited to examine the scrolls on the premises of the St. Mark Church.

It has been maintained that he was confused in regarding the Manual of Discipline Scroll (DSD) a *Haftorah* Scroll. Dr. Trever said, "Perhaps a superficial examination of DSD might give one the impression that it was a *Haftarot* Scroll, though the presence of the 'blessings of the *haftara*' at the end remains a puzzle. DSD does, however, contain quotations from the prophets, which might have started Wechsler's confusion."[186] It is absurd to assume that Wechsler could mistake the Manual of Discipline or the Isaiah Scroll for a *Haftarot*.

Professor Burrows in his article in the *JQR*, October 1951, said, "Dr. Brownlee has recently suggested in correspondence that a late scroll which he and Dr. Trever saw at St. Mark's Monastery but did not examine may have been a *Haftarot* Scroll, though they both assumed it was a Torah Scroll." He adds, "Concerning this Dr. Trever writes to me (a personal letter of February 22, 1951), 'I had forgotten entirely about the large leather scroll which we did see in the Syrian library on Tuesday, February 24,

[186] *JQR*, 1950, p. 79.

1948 . . . Unless I am badly mistaken that MS is an 18th century Ashkenazic MS with characteristic Germanic paleography . . . We did not examine it since it was so obviously late. But I feel sure it is a Torah Scroll and not Haftarot.' "

Trever asserted that Wechsler confused the DSD with the *Haftarot* Scroll. Yet Dr. Trever, a young Christian scholar, undoubtedly never heard that the Jews have scrolls of *Haftarot*, and certainly, like most biblical Christian and Jewish scholars, he never saw a Scroll of *Haftarot*. Nevertheless, he said the scroll was a Torah Scroll and not a *Haftarot*. On Thursday, February 19, 1948, when the Hebrew Scrolls were brought to Dr. Trever, he said, "The script, though obviously Hebrew, *looked strange to my inexperienced eyes* (italics mine)." A few days later, by Tuesday, the 24th of February, he had become so experienced that he was able to differentiate not only between the Torah Scroll and the *Haftarot*, but also to render a decision that it was of "Germanic paleography" and a manuscript of the eighteenth century. This is indeed a miracle second only to that of Joseph when, we are told, the Angel Gabriel taught him seventy different languages in one night.

What baffles me is that after January 1950, when I published an article entitled, "Where is the Scroll of the Haftarot?" Dr. Trever replied to it in July of the same year, and made the assertion that Wechsler confused the scrolls, and concluded his article with the following words, "Thus, perhaps we should call the *Haftarot* Scroll 'a hoax.' " Not a word was said about the leather scroll which he saw on February 24, 1948. Only on February 22, 1951 he wrote to Professor Burrows about a leather scroll which he was sure was a Torah Scroll and not Haftarot. How can he explain his lapse of memory when after I made an issue of the *Haftarot* Scroll he replied that the entire story of the Haftarot Scroll was "a hoax"? Incidentally, it would be

interesting to learn how the Monastery obtained a Torah Scroll of Germanic paleography of the eighteenth century.

Clarification must be forthcoming about the letter which was written by Mr. Hamilton to Harding that Dr. Trever told him about three scrolls which were in St. Mark's convent about twenty years. In an article in the *JQR*, October 1951, Professor Burrows said that the Archbishop Samuel wrote to him, "Dr. Trever may have told Mr. Hamilton such a thing; Dr. Trever in turn was told this by the Rev. Butros Sowmy. But Rev. Butros Sowmy manufactured this story in the beginning until we were sure of the trust of our contacts. Then we explained the true account of the discovery and even attempted to lead you to the cave, as you will remember." Rev. Butros Sowmy is dead. Therefore, we have a right to expect full clarification from Dr. Trever, but first let us see what he wrote on the "discovery of the Scrolls" in the *Biblical Archaeologist*, Sept. 1948. His account is as follows:

> "Wednesday, [18th of Feb. 1948] afternoon Omar, the cook, came to my room saying that someone was calling for the Director to inquire about some ancient Hebrew manuscripts . . . I went to the telephone to find that Father Butros Sowmy, a priest of St. Mark's Syrian Orthodox Convent in the old City of Jerusalem, was on the wire. He said that while working in the library of the Convent, cataloguing the books, he had come upon five scrolls in ancient Hebrew about which the catalogue carried no information . . . Promptly at 2:30 the next day, [Thursday, Feb. 19] Father Sowmy appeared with his brother Karim Sowmy . . . Opening the small leather suitcase they showed me five scrolls[186a] wrapped in newspaper . . . While I copied the passage they related the story of the discovery. Wandering bedouin carrying goods from the Jordan Valley to Bethlehem, they said, chanced upon a cave near the north end of the Dead Sea

[186a] Where is the fifth Scroll? Why was it not brought to America? Was this the *Haftarot* scroll which was suppressed?

high up on in the cliffs . . . Seeing the scrolls protruding from the fallen debris, the bedouin pulled them out and tore off the cloth wrapping thereby revealing the ancient contents . . ."

It is clear from the account given by Dr. Trever that at the first meeting he gained the confidence of Father Sowmy who was sure of his "trust of his contact." Hence, it is evident that the Archbishop's statement that Father Sowmy invented the story in the beginning "until we were sure of the trust of our contact" does not square with the facts. Dr. Trever owes us an explanation. Who gave him the information that scrolls had been kept in a suitcase for 20 years in the St. Mark's Convent? It is evident that Father Sowmy could not have manufactured the story because of lack of trust in Dr. Trever. That scrolls were in the possession of the authorities of the St. Mark's Convent before the supposed discovery is attested by the fact that in 1947 before the announcement of the so called discovery, *scrolls were offered in Jerusalem to a gentleman named Stolzer.* The letter written by Mr. Hamilton to Harding in which he informed him about scrolls which were on the premises of the St. Mark's Convent for approximately 20 years brings us approximately to the great pogrom of Hebron which took place in 1929. An account was given in a Palestinian publication of 1929 of the looting of Torah Scrolls and manuscripts of great antiquity. It was related there that the synagogues in Hebron had 64 Torah Scrolls of great antiquity which had been brought there by Jews who were exiled from Spain. The scrolls were, according to the account, placed in casings of silver and gold. The author of this account also tells about the looting of the ancient manuscripts which were in the library founded by R. Judah Bibas.[187]

[187] ששה בתי כנסת, ששים וארבעה ספרי־תורה עתיקים מגולי ספרד, הספריה העתיקה

Torah Scrolls, as a rule, are decorated. Those used in rich congregations have silver plates, while in the poorer congregations the plates are of bronze and copper. The plates, as a rule, have inscriptions of verses from the Bible. In some instances the names of the donors are inscribed. The Torah Scrolls are placed in casings which are made either of wood, bronze, copper, and in some exceptional cases, like those in Hebron, of silver. Where are the casings and embellishments of the Torah Scrolls as well as the manuscripts? Not all of them were burned and destroyed. There was much looting, and many just have been carried away.

Archbishop Samuel said that a Jew named Phineas presented a Torah Scroll to the late Archbishop in the year 1929. Who was the Jew who did this at a time when Jews were killed, synagogues ransacked and Torah Scrolls looted? Is the Torah Scroll which the present Archbishop brought to the United States and offered for sale the same as that which Phineas presented to the late Archbishop? Is it the scroll which Drs. Brownlee and Trever saw in the Syrian library which they say was a manuscript of the eighteenth century — Ashkenazic with characteristic German paleography? All this should be clarified since it is of great importance in solving the enigma of the "discovery of the Hebrew Scrolls."

Incidentally, Father Sowmy told Dr. Trever that a wandering Bedouin carrying goods from the Jordan Valley to Bethlehem chanced upon the cave and discovered the scrolls. Dr. Cross tells us now that a shepherd discovered the manuscript while he was seeking a lost sheep. Why was the story changed?

There is a great likelihood that the $250,000 which were

מיסודו של ר' יהודה ביבאס, עם כתבי עתיקים, נשדדו ע"י הערבים, ה.התקפה" חיפה, תרפ"ט (1929). See also S. Zeitlin, המגלות הגנוזות, תמצית הרצאה באוניברסיטה העברית, בי"ד סיון, תשי"א.

paid for the purchase of four scrolls were in reality ransom money, i. e., money paid for manuscripts which actually belonged to Israel. It is an exorbitant amount for ransom of unimportant medieval manuscripts.

VII

The Essenes and the Sadducees

The commonly accepted opinion of those who maintain the antiquity of the Scrolls is that they were composed by members of the sect of the Essenes. This assumption is not based on proof but is only a conclusion by scholars. This reminds one of the provincial lawyer who said to the jury, "Gentlemen of the Jury! Here are my conclusions upon which I base my arguments." The authorship of the scrolls has been attributed to the Essenes, and upon this conclusion the scholars argue for their case. The arguments are based on parallels in ideas about the Essenes in the scrolls with those in Josephus and Philo. A similarity of ideas is not proof that they emanated from the same author or authors. We find the idea of the Trinity very well defined in the *Zohar*, a medieval compilation. This does not indicate that the author was a Judaean Christian who lived in the time of Peter and Paul. There are Christological ideas in the writings of the Cabalists. This again does not mean that the author or authors lived in the days of early Christianity. There is a booklet[188] in which there are tales of the miracles and deeds about the founder of modern Hasidism, closely resembling those about Jesus in the gospels.[189] But the author of this booklet did not live in the days of early Christianity. There always must be parallels of ideas and

[188] שבחי הבעל שם טוב.

[189] Comp. *JQR*, 1953, p. 107.

words. People do not live in a vacuum. They read books, and hear tales about people of previous generations and are influenced; they introduce their ideas in their writings, particularly if interested in ascribing these to antiquity.

There are more dissimilarities than similarities between the ideas of the Essenes and of the authors of the scrolls. According to Josephus the Essenes were very strict in their observance of the laws of the Sabbath. He said that on this day "they do not venture to remove any vessels or even to go to stool."[190] We read in the *Zadokite Fragments* that they were allowed to walk on the Sabbath two thousand cubits out of the city.[191] Furthermore, according to the *Fragments* they were prohibited from carrying anything on the Sabbath outside of the house, or from the outside into the house.[192] Josephus says that the Essenes did not carry anything about even while in the house and they did not walk out of it.[193] These laws in relation to the Sabbath are more in accord with the talmudic laws than with the laws of the Essenes. According to the *Zadokite Fragments* it was prohibited to sell beasts or birds to gentiles.[194] According to Josephus, the members of the Essene Order had no private property. He says, "They [Essenes] had a law that new members on admission to the sect shall confiscate their property to the Order."[195] Further, according to Philo they had no slaves,[196] but according to the *Z. F.* there was a prohibition against selling to the gentiles a slave who had been circumcised.[197] According to Hippolytus, the Essenes

[190] *The Jewish War*, II, 147.

[191] חוץ מעירו כי אם אלפים באמה.

[192] אל יוציא איש מן הבית לחוץ ומן החוץ אל בית.

[193] "They do not venture to remove any vessel," *J. W.*, II, 148.

[194] אל ימכר איש בהמה ועוף טהורים לגוים.

[195] *J. W.*, II, 122.

[196] *Every Good Man Is Free*, 79. "Not a single slave is to be found among them."

[197] אל ימכר להם . . . את עבדו ואת אמתו . . . אשר באו עמו בברית אברהם.

did not handle any coin of the country.[198] This latter statement in all probability was based on an earlier source. Josephus supports this view when he says there was no buying or selling among them. The subject of money is often mentioned in the scrolls. Again, according to Josephus "they considered oil defiling, and anyone who accidentally comes in contact with it scours his person."[199] Hippolytus is even more specific. "They do not use oil, regarding it as a defilement to be anointed."[200] According to the scroll, *The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness*, the priests were anointed. Josephus and Philo and later Hippolytus state that they laid stress upon belief in immortality of the soul and in reward after death. There is no mention whatsoever in the scrolls of these two points of belief, which were cardinal among the Essenes. Again, the idea of the Messiah occurs in the scrolls, whereas the Essenes did not believe in a Messiah. Josephus[201] and Philo[202] state that they opposed marriage. There is no mention of this in the scrolls. Hence it is crystal clear that the ideas in the scrolls have no affinity whatsoever with those held by the Essenes. The conclusion of the scholars who connect the scrolls with the Essenes is not only baseless but is a distortion of historical facts.[202a]

The scrolls were supposedly discovered in caves near the Dead Sea; hence the scholars maintained that the Essenes lived thereabouts. Josephus says that the Essenes "occupied no one city but settled in large numbers in every town." He does not tell us they lived in one particular place near the Dead Sea, and Philo states they lived in villages. Pliny the Elder, however, says they lived near the Dead Sea.

[198] *Elenchos*, 21. [199] *Op. cit.*, 123. [200] *Op. cit.*, 19.
[201] *Op. cit.*, 120, "Marriage they disdain."
[202] *Hypothetica.*
[202a] Comp. S. Zeitlin, "The Essenes," *JQR*, 1954, pp. 83–119.

Pliny speaks about the period after 70 CE when Judaea had been conquered by the Romans, and the Essenes had to flee the country and congregate in caves around the Dead Sea.

Professor R. Marcus in his article "Pharisees, Essenes and Gnostics,"[203] consisting of less than five pages, asked, "Is it possible, then, that the Damascus Covenanters closely resembled both the Essenes and the Apocalyptic Pharisees?" "The answer is yes"; he says, "it is possible and even probable if we further assume that the Essenes and the apocalyptic Pharisees were closely related." This answer is erroneous. The apocalyptic Pharisees are not related to the Essenes, (as a student of Josephus he should have known this) and the Damascus Covenanters do not resemble either of them.

Most astonishing is the parallel that Marcus drew between the Jewish sects of the Second Commonwealth and modern American political parties, having in mind a social, economic orientation. He sets the Sadducees alongside the Republicans. It would be interesting to learn what particular group of Republicans he had in mind, the isolationists or the internationalists, the Taft or the Vandenberg group. He sets the Shammaite Pharisees alongside the Conservative Democrats, while he places the Hillelites with the New Deal Democrats. There are hundreds of halakot controversies between the Shammaites and the Hillelites in the tannaitic literature based on social, economic problems. Marcus did not quote even a very few of them; *nevertheless he made such fantastic parallels.* This is not a scholarly method of research. He makes the Essenes correspond to the Socialists. Opposition to marriage was hardly a Socialistic trait. The Socialists never levelled diatribes

[203] *JBL*, September 1954, pp. 157–61.

against women; on the contrary, they championed woman suffrage. He relates the Zealots to the Communists. The Zealots were organized by Eleazar ben Simon in the year 65–66 CE against the vacillating policy of the provisional government which they suspected was carrying on secret communication with the Romans to make peace. There was nothing Communistic about the Zealots, and Marcus, as a Hellenistic scholar, *should have known this.*

As I was concluding the foregoing part of my essay, I received a copy of *Zion*[204] in which Flusser in an article "The Religious Ideas of the Judaean Sect" maintains that the scrolls are of the period of the Second Commonwealth. Before commenting on his article I should like to introduce the author, and I can do no better than to cite Mr. Wilson's quotations from him in *The New Yorker*, "*Les chrétiens sont dérangés*," "*Les Juifs sont dérangés aussi*," "*Moi, je ne suis pas dérangé.*"

After reading Mr. Flusser's article one can readily see that he is most *dérangé*, confused. Wilson says that Flusser told him that "on the Christian side, a reluctance to recognize that the characteristic doctrines of Christianity must have been developed naturally . . . out of a dissident branch of Judaism. This was what was upsetting to the scholars who were mostly, on the Christian side . . . on the Jewish side, if not Orthodox Jews, at least specialists in the literature of Judaism, who approached it with a certain piety."[205] I was one of the first to reject the antiquity of the scrolls and I maintained they were written by men of mediocre attainments and were valueless for the history of Christianity or Judaism. Mr. Wilson says further, "An independent scholar like Flusser, not committed to any religion, had no reason for being upset." He says Flusser told him that he had learned Hebrew "rather late in life." — Flusser may

[204] 1954, 3–4. [205] Comp. below p. 176.

have learned modern Hebrew "rather late in life" but he did not become familiar with the old nor with the medieval Hebrew literature. Flusser found a parallel of ideas in the so called scroll, *The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness* and the *Scroll of the Hymns*, but he could have found similar parallels in the medieval Hebrew literature.

The confusion in Flusser's article is apparent even in his quotations. He quotes a hymn by Jesus from Matthew (11.25) and Luke (10.21) ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι πάτερ κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς "I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth." He rendered it, אודך אבי, אלהי השמים והארץ "I Thank you *my* Father, God of heaven and earth." One who knows the New Testament will recognize the misrendering of the text by Flusser.

In the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* of April 1955 there is an article by Rev. Robert J. North entitled, "The Qumrān 'Sadducees'," in which he argues that there are some affinities between doctrines of the Sadducees and those in the Hebrew Scrolls. He is uncertain here in his conclusions and acknowledges his shortcomings which speaks well for his modesty. He says, "We repeat here the warning that first-hand mastery of the sources has been largely beyond our reach; but that nevertheless it has seemed useful to collate here the points which must at least be borne in mind in the discussion." Father North presents a useful bibliography of names of authors and publications dealing with the Hebrew Scrolls, but many of them afford no contributions to the subject.

I should like to pose a question. Suppose someone were to find in a cave certain scrolls which he said were of the time of the early Church Fathers, and a dispute arose among the New Testament scholars, some maintaining that the scrolls were indeed of the early Church Fathers, of the second century or the early third, while others were of

the opinion that they were of the Nicene or even post Nicene Fathers. What would be the reaction of the New Testament scholars to those who participated in such a controversy who never read the Church Fathers in the original and not even in the translations, but merely read books and articles published about the Church Fathers?

The Sadducees referred to in Josephus and the New Testament are one and the same as the *Zedukim* referred to in the tannaitic literature. We have in the latter twelve dialogues between the *Zedukim* and the *Perushim*. We can therefore say with certainty that the doctrines of the *Zedukim* (Sadducees) have no affinity with the laws and ideas in the Hebrew Scrolls.

There are some ambiguities which mar Father North's informative article, one of which must be pointed out. He says, "There were *priests* among Pharisees, Essenes, and (Acts 6, 7) Christians." Neither in this nor in any other passage of the New Testament is the name Essenes ever mentioned. The early Christians never came into contact with the Essenes, either by association with or in opposition to them. The authors of the New Testament, in all probability, were *never aware* of the Essenes, and that is the reason the Essenes were never mentioned,[205a] whereas they were in contact with the Pharisees and the Sadducees and hence we do find their names in the New Testament. Moreover, in the gospels we find severe criticism of the Sadducees and particularly the Pharisees, the reason being that the early Christians originated from the apocalyptic Pharisees. Later they separated from them and hence the great animosity of the early Christians toward their forerunners, the Pharisees, who condemned the new faction as heretical and presenting a menace to the people.

[205a] Comp. S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*

VIII

Paleography, Archaeology and Propaganda

One must conclude from the internal evidence that the scrolls are of the medieval period. The scholars who maintained the antiquity of the scrolls present two arguments for their case derived from paleography and archeology, respectively. Let us analyze these arguments to see if they can be substantiated. Paleography in connection with manuscripts of the Middle Ages is certainly a science, and manuscripts have been allocated properly to definite periods and even countries. The reasons were, first, that there have been a great many manuscripts and some of these have colophons, from which one can date other manuscripts; however, in regard to the Hebrew manuscripts of the pre-Christian period there are no colophons. The scholars in identifying the Hebrew Scroll as being of the pre-Christian period are acting like the provincial lawyer previously referred to. They conclude, and on the basis of their conclusions they differentiate; they say that one is of an early period and another is of a later period. Professor Lachman well said, "To date unknown documents by other unknown documents still leaves us with an unknown date."

It is true that we have inscriptions on stone, but one cannot draw parallels from dipinti (painted) inscriptions and from graffiiti.

Those who deal with the Hebrew paleography of the scrolls have committed a gross error. We know that the Hebrew script underwent a process of development and that the old Hebrew script was changed to the square script. The Hebrew alphabet had no final letters but they were added during a particular period. We know

that the *matres lectionis* were introduced at a later date.[206] Again, the Jews had two types of literature, the Holy Scriptures, the Pentateuch, which they believe was given to them by God on Mt. Sinai, as well as the Prophets after being canonized were held to be revelations; and they also had profane writings, documents and other secular writings. Changes were introduced early in the secular writings particularly in the *matres lectionis* and the final letters were added to make reading easier.

To introduce these innovations in the Holy Scriptures was revolutionary. The first change from the old Hebrew script to the square style was ascribed to Ezra, whereas the revolutionary change in bringing in the *matres lectionis* and the final letters was made by the great sage R. Akiba.[207] All these matters in connection with Hebrew orthography were not touched on by the paleographists, and to have a *scientific study* of paleography one must first deal with the Hebrew orthography.

The bulk of the Jews in the first century of the Christian era lived in Palestine, but there was a large community in Babylonia. There were scribes in Judaea and also in Babylonia, and undoubtedly there was a marked difference in their script. The scribes were a professional group and the manner of their writing remained in the families possibly for centuries without change. There were, however, different changes in the manner of writing between individuals. The script in the documents supposedly discovered by Bedouin in a cave about the sale of the cow was written by a professional and differs in form from that of those who signed it. As a matter of fact, the names of ישוע and אלעזר are part of the document, and these two

[206] See above.
[207] See above.

names are among the signatures, and there is a marked difference in the form of the script of each signature.[208] All in all there are six signatures affixed to the end of the document and they all differ in the form and character. All this was not touched upon by the paleographists.

Nash Papyrus

Dr. Albright based the dating of the scrolls in the pre-Christian period on the Nash Papyrus, but this is itself of uncertain date. Many scholars placed it in the second century CE;[209] therefore, we cannot prove the age of one doubtful document from another doubtful one. The Nash Papyrus was found in Egypt. Is the script that of the Egyptian Jewry, Babylonian Jewry or the Palestinian Jewry? This point was never raised by the paleographists, but I think it is very important. The Nash Papyrus consists of the Decalogue, the first few lines of Deut. 6.10, "Hear O Israel, . . ." The Decalogue is of Exodus. However, some words are found only in the Decalogue of Exodus, and some only in the Decalogue of Deut., some are found in neither, but in the Septuagint. The order of some of the Commandments is not in agreement, either with the text of Exodus, Deuteronomy or the Septuagint. The order of the following commandments in the Pentateuch is murder, adultery and theft, in LXX Exodus is, adultery, theft and murder. LXX Deut. has the following order, murder, adultery and theft. The Nash Papyrus has adultery, murder and theft, which is not in agreement with that of the

[208] See facsimile IX. Let the paleographists compare the letters of the word יהוסף in the text which was written by a scribe and those of the signature, particularly the letter ה *he*. Comp. also the facsimile VII.

[209] See above, p. 39.

Pentateuch or the Septuagint. The text of the Nash Papyrus is a conglomeration, and further, after the Decalogue there are two lines which read as follows:

החק]ים והמשפטים אשר צוה משה את
במדבר בצאתם מארץ מצרים

and then comes, "Hear, O Israel." The two lines between the Decalogue and "Hear, O Israel" are not found in the Pentateuch and could not have been there. They are an addition of the scribe. It seems that the Nash Papyrus is a part of an amulet which the Babylonian Jews wore to protect themselves against evil, and most likely the statement of Jerome that the Jews of Babylonia wore amulets in which the Decalogue was inscribed[210] refers to the amulet which was found in Egypt and is known as the Nash Papyrus. We must also bear in mind that in the third century some of the Jews there tried to introduce the reading of the Decalogue in the synagogues;[211] therefore, we have a right to assume that the Nash Papyrus is of Babylonian origin and of the third or fourth century CE.

Paleography cannot be a criterion in dating the Hebrew Scrolls. It appears, as a matter of fact, that many letters in the Eldad ha-Dani manuscript resemble the letters of the documents which the scholars identified as of the second century CE. The letter *he* strongly resembles the same letter written in the deed of a sale which manuscript the scholars identified as of the second century CE.

It was pointed out that in the Commentary of Habakkuk and in the Scroll of Hymns the word אל "*el*" was written in the old Hebrew script, "that the sacred name in Square script should not make the scroll sacred, since the Palaeo-

[210] See above, pp. 37–8.
[211] Comp. *JQR*, 1954, pp. 334–6.

Hebrew script was at that time considered to be a profane script, as is said in the Mishna." (Yadayim, 4,5)[212]

This assertion is based on a misunderstanding of the said Mishne. The Mishne states that the Holy Scriptures defile the hands; however, if the Holy Scriptures were written in the old Hebrew script they did not defile the hands because they were not sacred.[213] There is not a word in the Mishne, or in the tannaitic literature that the writing of the name of God in square script makes scrolls sacred.

The fact that some fragments supposedly found in the caves were written in the old script does not indicate that they are of great antiquity. The Jews as late as the fourth century CE used the old script in their writings.[214] Some of the books of the Bible which had been designed for the purpose of study, either at home or in school, were written in the old script so that they should not be considered sacred. In the later period any biblical book was considered holy regardless of the type of script in which it was written. Incidentally, the Mishne is of the end of the first century or beginning of the second century CE.

In conclusion, we must say that paleography must be eliminated as a factor in determining the date of the Hebrew Scrolls.

The archaeologists as a group are holding to the antiquity of the Hebrew Scrolls. The four Hebrew Scrolls which were first bought by the Archbishop and later purchased by the Hebrew University, as well as the three purchased by the late Professor Sukenik were *not* discovered by

[212] *BASOR, Supplementary Studies*, Nos. 13–14, p. 26.

[213] תרגום שבעזרא ושבדניאל מטמא את הידים תרגום שכתבו עברית ועברית שכתבו תרגום וכתב עברי אינו מטמא את הידים, לעולם אינו מטמא עד שיכתבו אשורית על העור ובדיו.

[214] Sanh. 97: מצאתי אדם אחד ובידו מגילה אחת כתובה אשורית ולשון קדש. The fact that he specified *Ashurit*, means that there were still manuscripts in the fourth century written in the Hebrew script.

archaeologists. They were purchased from Bedouin and a merchant who dealt in antiquities who claimed that Bedouin found the scrolls in a cave. According to one version, a Bedouin who carried goods through the desert had discovered the scrolls.[215] Another version is that a Bedouin shepherd had discovered[216] the scrolls which were taken to the Archbishop in a bag. Later the archaeologists made some excavations near the cave where the scrolls supposedly had been discovered, and they unearthed an old monastery and a cemetery. The potteries which they discovered, they say, are identical with the jars in which it was said the scrolls were stored away. The first claim was that the potteries were of the Hellenistic period. Later the archaeologists retracted and announced the jars were of the Roman period.[217] The problem that confronts us is — were the scrolls in jars when the Bedouin supposedly discovered them? The scrolls were brought to the Archbishop in a bag, not in jars,[218] and the late Professor Sukenik also bought scrolls from an oriental merchant. He also acquired in Bethlehem two jars which according to the Bedouin originally contained the scrolls, but he himself did not see them in the jars. There were two different purchases, at different times, first of the scrolls, the so called *War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness*, *The Scroll of Hymns*, a *Scroll of Isaiah* and some fragments, and secondly purchase of the two jars.[219]

[215] Trever, *BA*, 1948, p. 47.

[216] Cross, *ibid.*, Feb. 1954, p. 2. Wilson (*The New Yorker*, May 14, 1955) says the Bedouin "belonged to a party of contrabanders who had been smuggling their goats and other goods out of Transjordan into Palestine."

[217] *Manchester Guardian*, April 7, 1952.

[218] Archbishop Samuel, *BA*, May 1949, p. 27.

[219] כבר הזכרתי לעיל, שעם רכישת המגילות הראשונות בבית־לחם קניתי גם שני כדי־חרס, שלפי דברי הבדוים נמצאו המגילות בתוכם (מגילות ננוזות, כקירה שניה). Comp. however, the first edition רק אחד או שנים נשתמרו בשלימותם, *One or two of the jars were fully preserved.*

According to the accounts by archaeologists, most of the findings seem to have been made by the Bedouin. Here follows one account by Dr. Cross, in his article in the *Biblical Archaeologist* of February 1954.

> "One spring day in 1947 a shepherd of the Ta'amireh Tribe Muhammad Dib by name, roamed the parched cliffs along the Dead Sea looking for a lost sheep. . . . The tribesmen found jars, broken pottery, and leather scrolls filling the chamber which opened into the mountainside. The cave proved to be the now famous Cave One of the Wadi Qumran area, the manuscripts the fabulous (*sic*) "Dead Sea Scrolls," now more accurately called the Qumran Manuscripts (1 Q) . . . Touched off by the initial discovery at Cave One, the seven hundred or more Bedouin of this region have been scouring the caves and clefts of the wadis and cliffs abutting on the Dead Sea — hotly trailed by archaeologists and police . . . Shortly after the excavations and the discovery of the Murabba'at caves to be described below the Bedouin found another cave near the first (2 Q) . . . In any case, the Bedouin were successful again in finding "manuscript-bearing" caves . . . The most extraordinary of the discoveries came most recently. Bedouin once again were successful in finding the cave . . . In the midst of the discoveries at Qumran, Bedouin were also at work in other precincts of the desert. A series of discoveries of literary fragments was made . . . In late 1951 documents of a new order began to appear in the hands of tribesmen. The documents were recognized as belonging to the period of the Second Jewish Revolt . . . In the same general area other caves have been found by the persistent Ta'amireh . . . The major lot of Cave Four documents those purchased from the Bedouin . . ."

We note that most of the findings were made by Bedouin. The archaeologists discovered coins and pottery which were identical with the broken jars in which the scrolls were supposed to have been stored. I repeat, there is no evidence that the scrolls were ever stored in these jars. For the sake

of argument, just as old scrolls could have been placed in new wrappings, so new scrolls could have been placed in old wrappings. The pottery Father de Vaux now concedes is of the Roman period.

The archaeologists state that they found coins of the time of Alexander Janneus, but they say they also found coins of the time of the Revolt of 65–70 CE, the time of Bar Kokba, and also a coin of the Byzantine period. In one of the caves near the Dead Sea they found coins of the Arabic period.[220] Thus the coins cannot be a criterion for dating the Hebrew Scrolls. In another cave they discovered Arabic papyri of the second and third century after the Hegira, i. e., the 9th or 10th century CE, as well as fragments of the New Testament of the fifth to the eighth century CE.[221] We learn from Timotheus I that Arabian hunters discovered in a cave near Jericho many books around 800 CE, which the Jews recognized as being the Psalms of David.[222]

We must bear in mind that some dissenting groups of the Karaites lived in caves, and no doubt they stored their books there. Thus it is evident that archaeology as well as paleography cannot serve us in dating the Hebrew Scrolls.

The cloth in which the scrolls supposedly were wrapped was given a carbon 14 test and yielded the date 33 CE with a margin of 200 years later or earlier; however, this proof was not accepted as conclusive. Since then tests have been made on a piece of wood, and the dates yielded were 746 BCE, 698 BCE and 289 BCE which shows that the test of carbon 14 is unreliable. "There is not much hope of determining the age of the scrolls" says Dr. Arnold

[220] *RB*, 1953, pp. 260–67.
[221] *CBQ*, 1954, pp. 41–5.
[222] Comp. O. Eissfeldt, *ThLZ*, 1949.

(a scientist), "by the radio-carbon technique in the near future."[223] The only conclusive test is internal evidence, and this shows without a shade of doubt that the scrolls are of the Middle Ages.

Many scholars who uphold the antiquity of the scrolls say that the fact that the scrolls employ terms which we say came into vogue in the Middle Ages, is a proof that these terms were in vogue in the time of the Second Commonwealth.[224] This type of argument would be like that made by the person who claimed he had discovered a manuscript of Shakespeare which contained such words as socialism, Fabian, telegraph, telephone, automobile, etc., and who claimed that this in itself proved that these words were used in the English literature before the time of Shakespeare. Only those who have no knowledge of the rabbinic and karaitic literature, and are unfamiliar with the development of Judaism can maintain that such terms as מורה צדק, גמר קץ, קץ האחרון, תוגר and dozens of others were in the vogue before the Middle Ages.

It was stated before that the archaeologists found a cooking pot and a Roman lamp in the Ain Feshkha cave and also cigarette stubs and modern cloth in the debris. It is therefore held that some Romans visited the cave. Professor Sellers said, "Who the Roman visitor was we cannot tell, but a natural suggestion is Origen."[225] It is a plausible conjecture, says Professor Albright.[226] To my mind there can be no doubt that Origen never visited the cave.

[223] See *CBQ*, July, 1951; Rowley, *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 18, n. 5; *JQR*, 1953, p. 109.

[224] See M. Burrows, *ibid.*, 1951, p. 110. "Believing that the Dead Sea Scrolls are ancient, I infer that the term in question [מורה צדק] was used at an earlier period than he [Zeitlin] maintains." *Libenter homines id quod volunt credunt.*

[225] *BASOR*, April, 1949, p. 9.

[226] *Ibid.*, October 1949, pp. 12–13.

If he had, he would have taken the Hebrew Scrolls with him and not have left them to be discovered later by Bedouin. Origen was a great student and lover of the Bible. The scholars who conjecture he visited the cave never made a study of Hexapla to note if there had been any influence of the Isaiah Scroll upon it. Did Origen incorporate in it some of the gross errors of the Isaiah Scroll? It would be interesting to learn who left the cigarette stubs. Are they of the Hellenistic or of the Roman period?

Albright says that the Scrolls had been wrapped in linen and placed in the jars.[227] The Scrolls were brought to the Bishop "in a bag,"[228] also when Sukenik bought the Scrolls from an Oriental merchant, *they were not wrapped in linen or in jars.*[229]

According to Dr. Cross, a long plaster table and inkpots were found in the wadi Qumran caves. He states that these were used by the Essene scribes of the Hebrew Scrolls.[230] Upon what basis does he found this conclusion? This is characteristic of the wild fancies upon which the theory of the antiquity of the scrolls is based.

It has been reported that a cemetery was excavated not far from the cave. No doubt some archaeologists will identify the skeletons as being those of Essenes, just as they recognized the script of the scrolls as being that of the Essenes.

A (UP) dispatch from Jerusalem which appeared in The *New York Times* of May 20th 1955 tells of the discovery in a cave near the Red Sea of skeletons which archaeologists maintain were those of women and children who died from hunger during the Bar Kokba revolt against the Romans."

[227] *Ibid.*, "The scrolls had been wrapped in linen and placed in the jars, which were covered by closely fitting bowls."

[228] *BA*, 1949, p. 27.

[229] See above, n. 219.

[230] *BA*, February, 1954, p. 6.

The archaeologists," said the dispatch "believe the men had been killed either in battle or while attempting to bring food to the cave." This surmise has no more validity than their hypothesis about the Hebrew Scrolls. Even astounding is the following statement: "The Book of Lamentations in the Old Testament describes the hunger and horrors of the refugees hiding in caves besieged by the Romans during the Bar Kokba revolt." The Book of Lamentations was written centuries before the revolt of Bar Kokba. How could it describe hunger in the time of Bar Kokba? I do not think the correspondent should be blamed. He was given this information by an archaeologist. The same reference to the Book of Lamentations and its description of hunger in the Bar Kokba period was featured in the *Israel Digest* of May 26th in a dispatch from Jerusalem by ISI.

Professor Rowley says, "The evidence seems to me to be now so strong that no dating of this text later than A.D. 66–70 is likely to stand."[231] It would be interesting to learn on what evidence he based this assertion.

In spite of the overwhelming evidence against the antiquity of the Hebrew Scrolls and their connection with the Essenes, the scholars cling to their theory and try to draw parallels between the ideas in the Hebrew Scrolls and those held by the Essenes. The antiquity of the Scrolls has become a religion to them — a doctrine, and against doctrines there are no arguments as they are based on beliefs.

In an effort to popularize the belief in the antiquity of the Scrolls, press interviews were given, the radio was employed, and articles appeared in popular magazines. Recently Edmund Wilson who is neither a Semitist, a

[231] *The Dead Sea Scrolls and their Significance*, 1955, p. 18.

student of old and medieval Hebrew, nor a student of the Old or New Testament, but a literary critic and journalist, contributed an article to *The New Yorker*, May 14, 1955, "A Reporter at Large," a title which is a misnomer. He presented only one viewpoint. His article is biassed and full of distortions and falsifications of fact. Propaganda is a powerful weapon in spreading faulty doctrines, and it must be combatted.

The belief in the antiquity of the Hebrew Scrolls has become very widespread and it has many adherents. It is held that since a vast majority believe in it (so it is said) it must be right. However, to use the words of Professor Lacheman, "Scholarship is not counted by noses."

This is not the first time that faulty ideas and doctrines have become popular. More than 40 years ago a skull was uncovered in Piltdown, England, which paleontologists asserted dated back 500,000 years, — a date accepted by *all* experts. One paleontologist, Franz Weidenreich, however, expressed doubt as to its antiquity. The find was recorded in all encyclopedias and dictionaries under the title *Piltdown Man*. In the latter part of 1953 the jawbone was proved to be that of a modern ape, and the legend of the Piltdown Man was shattered. *It was a hoax.*

Shabbetai Zevi in the seventeenth century proclaimed himself the messiah. The majority of the Jews believed in his messianism, rich and poor, bankers, lawyers, doctors, rabbis, etc. A few who had the courage to dissent were ostracized and persecuted economically, socially and physically. This phenomenon can be explained. The Jews craved for a Messiah and at the head of this movement stood an unusual promoter and ingenious propagandist, Nathan of Gaza. Even when Shabbetai Zevi accepted Islam, many Jews still believed in him. Either they had no courage to retract, or they were too deeply involved and saw no way out.

Mr. Wilson was impressed by the fact that two scholars who believed in the antiquity of the scrolls apparently did so because they were not hampered by a desire to grind religious axes. Dupont-Sommer told him that he was "*un pur savant* without any religious affiliations." Flusser informed him that everybody Christian and Jew who is committed to a religion is *dérangé* in relation to the Scrolls—*except himself.*[232] Apparently Mr. Wilson wanted thus to indicate that the scholars who adhere to some religious denomination cannot be objective. This is not only a distortion of facts but a slur on the scholars.

IX

Distortions and Falsifications

There are two types of distortions, (one) a rendering of ancient texts into a modern language by a person who does not know the original language; (second) the emending of an ancient text to suit one's fanciful ideas. Both of these distortions have made themselves manifest in the renderings of the Hebrew text of the scrolls. I pointed out in my previous articles the distortions of the Hebrew text by Dr. Brownlee.[233] Not being versed in rabbinics and medieval Hebrew, he rendered the texts wrongly and found cryptic passages, some of which he explained by *notarikon*. Now I shall give some of the faulty renderings of Dupont-Sommer.

The passage in the Commentary of Habakkuk, 1.10 he rendered, פשרו אשר ילעיגו על רבים "The explanation of this is that they are insolent toward the mighty." 1. 12 ובתוכחתם

[232] "An independent, scholar like Flusser, not committed to any religion, had no reason for being upset."

[233] Comp. *JQR*, 1951, pp. 187–192; 1952, pp. 147–151; 1954, pp. 20–5; 141–158; 1955, pp. 198–229.

יאשמו כל רשעי עמו אשר שמרו את מצוותו בצר למו he renders, "And it is at the time of their chastisement that all the sinful from amongst His people will make atonement. Those who will have kept his commandments will be a rock for them."

The following passage in the *Zadokite Fragments* he renders, ויתעלמו איש בשאר בשרו "And each satisfied his virility with the flesh of his flesh." The following passage in the so-called Manual of Discipline ובענות נפשו לכל חוקי אל יטהר בשרו להזות במי נדה ולהתקדש במי דוכו he renders, "And by the submission of his soul towards all God's ordinances, when he sprinkles himself with lustral water, and he shall sanctify himself with running water."

The Teacher of Righteousness and the evil man were identified by the scholars with definite men who lived during the Second Commonwealth. The evil man was Jason, Menelaus, Antiochus Epiphanes, Alexander Janneus, Aristobulus, Simon ben Shotah and Paul. The Teacher of Righteousness was identified with Nehemiah, Onias the High Priest, Onias the Just and Jesus. The identifications are arbitrary without any support.

Dupont-Sommer is of the opinion that the Teacher of Righteousness was the Messiah who was martyred under Aristobulus II. "The Galilean Master, as He is presented to us in the writings of the New Testament," he says, "appears in many respects as an astonishing reincarnation of the Master of Justice. Like the latter He preached penitence, poverty, humility, love of one's neighbour, chastity . . . Like him He was the Elect and Messiah of God, the Messiah redeemer of the world . . . In every case where the resemblance compels or invites us to think of a borrowing, this was on the part of Christianity."[334]

[334] *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 99.

From these words one must conclude that neither Jesus nor the early Christians were original, and that Jesus was only a *reincarnation* of the Teacher of Righteousness. The translator of Dupont-Sommer's book into English was Miss E. Margaret Rowley. The following note was appended by the author: "It is scarcely necessary to say that the author in no way wishes to deny the originality of the Christian religion." (This note is not in the original French edition.) Dupont-Sommer's assertions, however, speak for themselves.

Dupont-Sommer continues, "Like him [the Teacher of Righteousness] He was the Elect and the Messiah of God, the Messiah redeemer of the world. Like him He was the object of the hostility of the priests, the party of the Sadducees. Like him He was condemned and put to death. Like him He pronounced judgment on Jerusalem, which was taken and destroyed by the Romans for having put Him to death."

Dupont-Sommer held that the Teacher of Righteousness, the Messiah, was put to death by Aristobulus II and that the city was taken by the Romans on the 10th of Tishri 63 BCE because of his martyrdom. As to the silence of Josephus about the martyrdom of the Teacher of Righteousness, Dupont-Sommer says, "But indeed, this silence can be easily explained by those who know Josephus, a man as clever in his behaviour — though sometimes ingloriously — as he is tendentious in his way of writing history. He did not want to reveal anything in Jewish history which could appear unpraiseworthy or unintelligible to the Gentiles who would read his works . . . The Just One, was officially condemned and executed by the Jews. This was a bloodstain and a disgrace over which Josephus the Pharisee threw a martyr's veil . . . I am convinced that it is for similar reasons that he said nothing of another

Master, another Just One, who was put to death under Pontius Pilate with Jewish complicity."[235]

In a note Dupont-Sommer says that the famous Christ passage in Josephus is generally held to be interpolated.[236]

As to the Christ passage in Josephus, I fully agree that it was interpolated,[237] but it was for another reason. Dupont-Sommer uses the words, "those who know Josephus." I dare say that *he* does *not* know Josephus. If there had been such a man (Teacher of Righteousness) whom the Jews condemned and put to death, Josephus would have recorded it. He did tell about the condemnation and martyrdom of James, the brother of Jesus,[238] and he also gave an account of the execution of John the Baptist;[239] and of Onias by the men of Aristobulus II because he refused to pray for their victory.[240] Josephus says that God punished them and "took vengeance on them for the murder of Onias." The city of Jerusalem was taken by Pompey. The reason Josephus did not mention the crucifixion of Jesus is that he was condemned to death and crucified not by the Jews, but by the Romans for claiming to be the king of the Jews.[241] An inscription even was placed on the cross, over the head of Jesus reading, "King of the Jews."[242]

There was *no* "Teacher of Righteousness." He was a fictitious person invented by Dupont-Sommer. He says in his book, *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes*, "In the light of the new historical data revealed in particular

[235] P. 90. [236] P. 91.

[237] Comp. S. Zeitlin, *Josephus on Jesus*, pp. 61–7; H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus*, p. 137.

[238] *Ant.* 20.200.

[239] *Ibid.*, 18.116–119.

[240] *Ibid.* 14.22–24.

[241] See S. Zeitlin, *Who Crucified Jesus?*

[242] I N R I. John, 19.19. It was the Roman method of publishing the reason for the execution.

by the Habakkuk Commentary I have especially re-read the Testament of Levi."[242a] Dupont-Sommer found in the Testament of Levi a reference to the execution of the Teacher of Righteousness who was executed by the Jews. "And a man who reneweth the law in the power of the Most High, ye shall call a deceiver; and at last ye shall rush (upon him) to slay him, not knowing his dignity, taking innocent blood through wickedness upon your heads and your holy places shall be laid waste even to the ground because of him."[243] Dupont-Sommer says that this refers to the execution of the Teacher of Righteousness and the capture of the city by the Romans.

This passage was rightly recognized by Charles as an interpolation by the early Christians;[244] however, I do not rely on the authority of Charles. This passage was not written by a Jew but by an early Christian. No Jew would say "In the power of the Most High." A Jew would have written, "According to the word" or at least "according to the wish of God." The Jews believe that God is omnipotent and does not delegate His power to anyone. According to Christianity Jesus was anointed with the Holy Spirit and with *power*.[245] Paul, in his letter to the Romans, also said that Jesus was "declared to be the son of God with power."[246] This passage was unquestionably interpolated by a Christian and refers to Jesus. Dupont-Sommer invented a Messiah and libeled the Jews accusing them of committing a crime in killing a godly man, and Wilson repeated this falsification. Unfortunately, many readers might accept his statement as a historical fact and

[242a] P. 39.

[243] The Testament of Levi, 16.3, *καὶ ἄνδρα καινοποιοῦντα νόμον ἐν δυνάμει ὑψίστου.*

[244] *Ad loc.*

[245] See above, n. 5.

[246] 1.4, *ἐν δυνάμει*

believe that the Jews were murderers during the Second Commonwealth and killed Messiahs, Christs. Mr. Wilson and the editors of *The New Yorker owe an apology to their readers and a retraction for repeating such a libelous story.*

Dupont-Sommer's statement and the repetition of it by Mr. Wilson put the gospels in a very bad light. According to the gospels, Jesus was the Messiah, Christ, the only one; there had been none before him. John the Baptist was considered by some to be Elijah, who foretold the coming of Jesus. The Teacher of Righteousness is entirely ignored. We must, according to Dupont-Sommer, conclude that Jesus not only was not the original Messiah, that he was not the first, but that he preached nothing that had not already been preached by the Teacher of Righteousness, and that the Jews had put the Teacher of Righteousness to death. There is no mention whatsoever in the gospels of the Teacher of Righteousness, or that there had been another Messiah before Jesus, that he had been put to death by the Jews, and that he prophesied everything that Jesus prophesied. The authors of the gospels thus are put in a bad light, but this point I leave to the New Testament scholars.

Some Christian theologians maintain that the *Suffering Servant* of whom Isaiah speaks refers to Jesus, whereas the Jewish theologians believe that this *Suffering Servant* of the Lord represents the Jewish people. When Shabbetai Zevi accepted Islam, his followers said that the *Suffering Servant* about whom Isaiah spoke refers to their leader who was forced to accept Islam. Wilson quotes Dupont-Sommer's query, "Why, could these passages (about the *Suffering Servant*) not have been written after the death of the Teacher of Righteousness?" The answer *is* they could

not have been written any time during the Roman period. The Books of the Prophets were canonized before the Hasmonean period.

Different manuscripts may have variant readings, but this does not palliate the incongruity of adding whole chapters, or even passages to the Book of Isaiah which had been canonized centuries before. The guardians of the Books of the Prophets were the Pharisees. Would they insert passages in Isaiah about the sufferings of a Teacher of Righteousness, in whom they did not believe, for whose martyrdom they were responsible according to Dupont-Sommer and Wilson. When a person has been beset with fanciful ideas, learning and logic are disregarded.

Dupont-Sommer stated that the Day of Atonement mentioned in the Commentary of Habakkuk was the same day when Pompey took Jerusalem. Pompey did not capture Jerusalem on the Day of Atonement, the 10th of Tishri, but on the Fast Day of the 9th of Tammuz, which in the year 63 fell on a Wednesday.[247]

Dupont-Sommer accepts the Scroll, *The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness* as authentic history of the Second Commonwealth without fully examining the text. He places Edom south of Jerusalem, Moab east, and Philistia west.[248] On what side of the border would he place Uz, Hul, Togar and the Sons of Arpachshad?

Mr. Wilson did not render a service in the cause of good journalism. He did not give a report but indulged in propaganda and presented only one side of the picture. He interviewed many of the scholars who believed in the antiquity of the scrolls, but he did not interview those who did not. He did not interview Professor Driver while he

[247] See S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, pp. 26–9.
[248] *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 79.

was in England. When he was in Jerusalem he did not interview those who discounted the antiquity of the scrolls. He mentioned that the late Dr. Magnes had sent two men to examine the scrolls. "It is not clear," Wilson wrote, "whether the failure of the men from the library to come back, as they promised, to the monastery was due to the troubled conditions or to the absence of E. L. Sukenik, the University's head archaeologist." A true reporter interested in learning the truth could have found out the reason, *the men were and are still in Jerusalem.* He did not interview Mr. S. Stolzer who said that scrolls which were in the depository of the St. Mark's Church were offered to him for sale in the beginning of 1947. Here in America he did not find it necessary to interview those scholars who oppose the antiquity of the scrolls.

Wilson gives a detailed description of the Bedouin who supposedly discovered the scrolls. Incidentally, who related the whole story to him of the discovery? The contrabandist himself or someone in his name? He, however, never mentioned the letter to Mr. Harding by Mr. Hamilton wherein he stated that Dr. Trever told him of three scrolls which had been in the possession of the Convent of St. Mark for about twenty years. This letter is very important for solving the enigma of the discoveries of the scrolls. Wilson ignored it because it did not fall in with his tendentious article.

Wilson in quoting Flusser says that the sect had "grown up inside Judaism, but had nothing to do with Judaism." "This," he says, "was what was upsetting to the scholars, who were mostly, on the Christian side, either Anglican divines, Roman Catholic priests, or Presbyterian or Methodist ministers, and, on the Jewish side, if not Orthodox Jews, at least specialists in the literature of Judaism who

approached it with a certain piety." Some professors of the Jewish Theological Seminary, an institution for training Conservative rabbis have zealously upheld the antiquity of the scrolls. I hope that Wilson does not cast any suspicion on their piety.

Wilson in quoting Habermann says that the opposition to the antiquity of the scrolls on the Jewish side "is a fear of impairing the authority of the Masoretic text, and also, one gathers, a resistance to admitting that the religion of Jesus could have grown in an organic way, the product of traceable sequence of pressures and inspirations out of one branch of Judaism." Both assertions are totally wrong. He particularly mentioned me as one of those who oppose the antiquity of the scrolls for these reasons. I have never upheld the sanctity of the so called Masora; on the contrary, I have maintained that many of the biblical readings found in the rabbinic literature are preferable. As to the religion of Jesus, I have shown in my writings that Christianity is the outgrowth of views held by the apocalyptic Pharisaic sect.

Wilson endeavors to ascribe a theological motive to those who deny the antiquity of the scrolls. "The tension" he says, "does not all arise from the first much disputed problems of dating, and the contention about the dating itself had, perhaps, behind it other anxieties than the purely scholarly ones." This statement tempts to confuse the readers and to give them a false conception of the controversy. I have been one of the opponents to the early dating of the scrolls. I never shrank in all my historical research from presenting my conclusions even though they were contrary to tradition.

On the Christian side, Wilson on the authority of Brownlee says, that the reason that some scholars are

reluctant to accept the antiquity of the scrolls is "the fear that the uniqueness of Christ is at stake." This is a slur on the scholarly integrity of the New Testament students.

Wilson's article is replete with errors and distortions of facts. Even when his facts are correct he showed his lack of comprehension of the reasons behind the facts. I shall quote two of his statements which exemplify this.

In speaking of Herod, Wilson says, "In the days when he was not yet king and his political position was dubious, [Herod] excused the members of the sect [Essenes] from taking an oath of loyalty, but makes it clear that this was due to one of them having 'slapped him on the backside,' seeing him in the street one day, and having predicted that he would one day be king." Herod excused the Essenes from taking an oath in the year (circa) 19 BCE. He had become king in the year 38–37 BCE, hence the assertion "when he was not yet king and his political position was dubious" is historically wrong. Further, Mr. Wilson misunderstood the underlying reasons for Herod's excusing the Essenes from taking the oath of allegiance. The reason was that one of the Essene doctrines was to keep faith with the rulers, "Since no ruler attained his office save by the will of God."[249] This was their doctrine and hence Herod had faith in their allegiance to him, and that is the reason they were not required to take an oath of allegiance. Due to their loyalty to the Kings the Essenes were not persecuted by them.

Wilson found similarities between the practices of the Essenes and those of the *Kibutzim* in Israel. He says, "Like the Essenes, they bring up adopted children . . . orphans and refugees." This is correct, but apparently he does not

[249] *The Jewish War*, II, 140. Comp. also Hippolytus, *op. cit.* "A position of authority does not happen to any one without God."

know the underlying reason therefor. The members of the *Kvutzoth* adopt orphans and refugees for humanitarian reasons. They are not opposed to marriage; however, the Essenes opposed marriage and in order that their sect might not become extinct they adopted orphans and children who had been abandoned. Yet Wilson's article had been checked for mistakes of facts by Christian and Jewish "scholars." (Wilson informed me in a private letter of this checking). These are a few illustrations of the many glaring errors in Wilson's article. To write about the Essenes one must be well versed in the historical background of the Jewish people of the Second Commonwealth.

I have endeavored to show that the scrolls are not of the pre-Christian and I have asked my opponents to refute me. A prominent biblical scholar told me that my arguments as well as my questions will be ignored. This is understandable; it is an easy way out, but we have to bear in mind that truth cannot be suppressed for long. Propaganda cannot fool the people all the time.

It is more than eight years since the Bedouin made the so-called discovery of the seven Scrolls which have since been published. Subsequently fragments were found, and some dubious documents and a *Babylonian phylactery of the medieval period*. No scrolls were found since. One must bear in mind that the Scrolls "discovered" in 1947 were not far inside the cave. They were almost on the surface and that is the reason they were noticed by the Bedouin. Could they have been in this position for two thousand years? Is there not a probability that someone perpetrated a hoax on the scholars? Some of the scrolls were placed in the caves. This assumption is strengthened by the "discovery" in a cave of a *medieval Babylonian phylactery*. I do not question the integrity of the scholars.

Their great enthusiasm for ancient documents has led them to believe what they want to believe.

This is not the only time when scholars were credulous. They were deceived by Firkowitch who fabricated some documents which they accepted at face value. They were also deceived by the forgeries of Shapira. Scholars accepted the so-called Slavonic Josephus as a translation of the Aramaic draft or of the original Greek draft which Josephus wrote. For a time I stood alone in my effort to expose this fallacy. My view has since been accepted.[250] The so-called Slavonic Josephus was a *hoax*. It was maintained then that it would revolutionize our knowledge of the history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth; then as now scholars tried to ignore my arguments against the authenticity of the Slavonic Josephus.

These Scrolls which are worthless for Jewish history, and were written by sectarians in the medieval period, were purchased by the Hebrew University for an exorbitant price. It was a great waste of money, but this is their affair. But the fact that they plan to build היכל הספר "Shrine of the Book" is disturbing. Have these *idols*[251] come to be a veritable religion to them?[252] According to the Israeli press one prominent biblical scholar was not included in the committee of the היכל הספר because he in part rejected the antiquity of the scrolls. Is any one who questions their antiquity to be considered a heretic and guilty of *lèse majesté*? This is indeed very disturbing.

[250] "More effectively than any other critical scholar, he [Zeitlin] has definitely disposed of the imaginative vagaries of Robert Eisler concerning the so-called Slavonic Josephus." Prof. H. R. Willoughby, *The Christian Century*, Jan. 27, 1943.

[251] The Hebrew Scrolls.

[252] Comp. Jer. 7.4.

X

The Beginnings of Christianity and the Hebrew Scrolls

There is a consensus of opinion that Christianity originated in Judaea and that Jesus and the apostles all were Jews by birth. The ideas of Christianity were a development of those of the Apocalyptic-Pharasaic sect. Resurrection, reward and punishment in the future world, ransom — the belief that one could atone with one's blood for the sins of others had been expounded fully in the apocalyptic literature. The terms, "Son of God," "Son of Man," "Elect," were mentioned there. The Apocalyptists also believed in a supernatural messiah who would ultimately conquer the world not by force but by spirit.[253] The Pharisees, the so-called upholders of normative Judaism, particularly of the last century before the destruction of the Second Temple, opposed many of the above mentioned beliefs. Thus we find clashes between Jesus and his apostles with many of the Pharisees.[254] The other group, the Sadducees, were strictly nationalists, and denied all the doctrines of the Pharisees. They did not believe in the immortality of the soul and reward and punishment after death.[255] The Pharisees who maintained that God is universal were eager to proselyte, to spread this view among all the gentiles. The Sadducees opposed proselytism and believed only in a national God, the God of their people.[256]

[253] Comp. The Psalm of Solomon 17.23, 36; Enoch 48.10, 49.2, 51.1, 69.4; IV Ezra 7.27.

[254] See S. Zeitlin, *The Pharisees and the Gospels*, pp. 19–39.

[255] Josephus, *Jewish War*, 2.165. Comp. the writer's essays on the Sadducees and Pharisees. *The History of the Second Jewish Commonwealth. Prolegomena; Who Crucified Jesus?*

[256] *Idem.* "Judaism as a Religion," *JQR*, 1944, pp. 193–9.

There was another sect among the Jews who were called Essenes. The present writer elsewhere dealt at length with their beliefs, doctrines and organization.[257] I shall present here in succinct form an account of their organization and doctrines. The sources of our knowledge about the Essenes are the books of Josephus[258] and Philo,[259] and the writings of Pliny the Elder.[260] Josephus is the main source. Pliny learned about them after the destruction of the Second Temple. The remnants of them had concentrated around the Dead Sea. Philo knew about them from hearsay, but had no actual contact with them since he had never been in Judaea nor they in Egypt.[261] Josephus was the only one who was an eyewitness of their activities, and according to his statement he joined them for a while.

The Essenes were the *Hasidim* who came into existence as a reaction against the Hellenization forced upon the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes and the High Priests Jason and Menelaus. These *Hasidim* were ready to face torture and to forfeit their lives for the strictest observance of the law. They remained steadfast in their views.[262]

Josephus describes the manner of their organization. He states that any person who wanted to join them had to go through a period of probation, first for a year, during which he had to remain outside of the sect. Then having given proof of good character he was accepted, but was not yet allowed to enter their assemblies, and then he was placed on probation for two more years. The Essenes began the

[257] "The Essenes and the Messianic Expectations," *ibid.* 1954, pp. 83–119.

[258] *Jewish Antiquities*, 18.171–3; *Jewish War*, 2.119–166.

[259] *Quod omnis probus liber sit* (*Every Good Man is Free*).

[260] *Natural History*, 5.15.

[261] The present writer is of the opinion that the treatise *On Providence* is not the work of Philo.

[262] *JQR*, 1954.

day by offering hymns to God. After being dismissed by their superiors they worked in the fields or at manual crafts until the fifth hour, i. e., until 11:00 a.m., when they performed ablutions. A common meal followed, but before partaking of the food a priest said grace.[263] They had their own priests whose lineage was traced to the family of Zadok. The Essenes gave them their tithe of corn which was required of all Jews to be given to the priests. They ate no meat and drank no wine, and did not anoint themselves with oil since all this was part of the Temple sacrifice, and the Essenes did not recognize the high priests of the Temple who were not of the family of Zadok. For this reason, Josephus says, the Essenes did not send any animal sacrifices to the Temple. This was the reason that they abstained from meat and wine. The Talmud relates that after the destruction of the Temple many Jews abstained from eating meat and drinking wine, since there were no more animal sacrifices.[264]

The Essenes were very strict in their observance of the Sabbath, they carried nothing out of the house nor into it. Being opposed to slavery they had no slaves. Their daily life was communal and they shared in the treasury. According to Josephus they lived in every city and village throughout Judaea. Their houses were open to fellow Essenes who had migrated. They condemned marriage in principle. However, one branch of this sect married for the purpose of propagation so that the sect might not become extinct. In order to perpetuate their group the Essenes adopted orphan children whose parents had perished during the civil wars or in other ways. Any Essene who was convicted of a crime was expelled from the sect.

[263] *Jewish War, ibid.*
[264] Comp. Zeitlin, *ibid.*

This meant he was destined to die of starvation unless some members took pity on him and gave him food, as he was forbidden to partake of the food of other men.[265]

The Essenes believed in fate, that everything was preordained by God, and this is the reason that one of their doctrines was that faith must be kept with rulers of Judaea since, according to them, "no ruler attained his office save by the will of God," therefore they were loyal, even to Herod. Further, they believed in the immortality of the soul that is, that it is imperishable and never dies. They also believed that the righteous would be rewarded after death, while the souls of the wicked would undergo everlasting punishment.[266]

If it were asked whether the Essenes believed in a messiah, i. e., a supernatural person, whom God had destined to save the Jews from their oppressors, punish their enemies and establish a kingdom in Zion from where he would rule the entire world, the answer would be in the negative.[267]

Josephus does not say that the Essenes believed in a messiah. It has been generally assumed that he did do so because he feared his benefactors, the Flavian family. This assumption is not correct. If he had been aware that the Essenes or the Pharisees expected a messiah, he would have said so, but he probably would have referred to such a person as a charlatan or an impostor, so that the Romans should not suspect him of any seditious views. In describing the Apocalyptists who believed in a supernatural messiah, he says, "They were deceivers and impostors, under the pretense of divine inspiration fostering revolutionary changes. They persuaded the multitude to act like mad-

[265] *Idem, ibid.*
[266] Josephus, *ibid.*
[267] See Zeitlin, *ibid.*

men and led them out into the desert under the belief that God would give them tokens of deliverance."[268] If the Essenes believed in a messiah, Josephus would certainly have mentioned it. He would have phrased his account of the messiah in such a way as to make sure that the Roman authorities would not suspect him of such a belief.

The conception of a messiah was either national, i. e., that God would send an Elect one to save the Jews from their oppressors and establish a kingdom in Zion, or that it embraced a wider philosophy, not national but universal, viz., that God would send a messiah of the seed of Israel for the entire universe, who would establish the kingdom of God in Israel and who would rule the entire universe. The Essenes were not interested in either of these philosophies. They were individualists. They were not concerned about the Jewish people as a whole, and certainly not about the gentiles. They were absorbed only in their own individual perfection. They did not, like the Pharisees and the early Christians, seek to make proselytes. The Essenes were a close association. Anyone who wanted to join them had to go through states of probation. This is not the view of those who believed in messianism, who sought to spread their ideas among the people and win recruits.

The scholars who believe in the antiquity of the scrolls sought similarities between the ideas expressed in the scrolls and those recorded in the books of the New Testament. There are indeed some similarities. One can find similarities between the ideas expressed in the scrolls and those held by Jewish sects from the early days down to modern times.

There are two prevailing views in relation of the scrolls

[268] *Jewish War*, 2.258–9.

to early Christianity. One view maintains that the scrolls will revolutionize New Testament scholarship. Some even have gone so far as to say that the scrolls would cause a new evaluation of Christianity. The more restrained scholars maintain that the understanding of the New Testament will not be revolutionized by the scrolls, "as to require any revision of any basic article of Christian faith." It has also been maintained that there is such a similarity between the "Dead Sea Scrolls"[269] and the Epistle to the Ephesians and the First Epistle of Peter that "If the name of Christ were removed from these letters one might suppose that they came from Wady Qumran."[270] It is strange that a Christian writer should advance such a hypothesis. Paul, in his Epistle to the Ephesians says that Jesus was crucified to redeem the world from its sins. "In whom we have redemption," he adds "through his blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the richness of his grace."[271] Paul speaks of Jesus as being the Son of God, and makes reference to the future world. Not a word of these doctrines of which Paul speaks are mentioned in the "Wady Qumran" text. Peter in his First Epistle, speaks of "the precious blood of Christ, as the lamb without blemish and without spot."[272] In another place he says, "For Christ also died for sins . . . that he might bring us to God."[273] Even if the name of Christ was not recorded in these Epistles, nevertheless anyone reading them would conclude they were written by a Christian as they refer to Jesus as the Son of God and state that Jesus was crucified to redeem the world from its sins. How can any one assume these Epistles could have been written by the same men who wrote the scrolls? The

[269] See Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 327.
[270] *Ibid.*, p. 336.
[271] I.7.
[272] I.19.
[273] 3.18.

idea of redemption, and that the messiah died for the sins committed by other people, is not even remotely referred to in the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls. The dogma of ransom or redemption, i. e., that the messiah should die to redeem or to ransom the sins of others, was unknown to the authors of the scrolls.

It has been suggested that there is a great similarity between the Hebrew Scrolls and the Gospel of John.[274] The importance of the interrelationship is so great, for through it the dating of the Gospel of John could be established. Again there are undoubtedly some similarities. We find similarities between the writings of the gospels and those of the *Hasidim* of the 18th and 19th centuries, but there are more dissimilarities between the Hebrew Scrolls and John than similarities, and what is more important, what John stresses in his gospel is not found in the Hebrew Scrolls. To give a few examples: John, as well as the writers of the other gospels, stresses that Jesus was the Son of God. This is not alluded to in the Hebrew Scrolls. John says that Jesus was called the "Son of Man." Such an expression does not appear in the Hebrew Scrolls. In the Gospel of John the word "rabbi" occurs a few times.[275] The word "rabbi" *never* occurs in the scrolls. Resurrection and crucifixion which play a great part in the Gospel of John are never mentioned in the scrolls. We can see from all this that the scrolls have no connection with the Gospel of John.

It has been stated that the communal meal which is referred to in the scrolls has an affinity with the communal meal of which Jesus partook with his disciples before he was crucified.[276] Communal meals were frequent among the

[274] Comp. R. E. Brown, *The Catholic Biblical Qharterly*, July, October, 1955.

[275] 3.2, 6.25, 11.8.

[276] F. M. Cross, *The Christian Century*, August 24, 1955, p. 969.

ascetic sects as well as among the cabalists. In our own days communal meals are of great importance among the modern *Hasidim*. The leader of the *Hasidim*, the Rabbi, partakes of communal meals particularly on the Sabbath with his followers. The communal meal mentioned in the scrolls has no more historical value in relation to the meal of which Jesus partook with his disciples, than has the communal meal of the *Hasidim*.

Father R. E. Brown said, "No matter how impressive the terminological and ideological similarities are, the difference that Jesus Christ makes between the two cannot be minimized. Therefore we do well to avoid any policy of hunting for Christian parallels in every line of the Q. L."[277] Father Brown nevertheless, looked for similarities between the Qumran literature and the Gospels, particularly the Gospel of John.[278] The similarities he discovered could have been found in the karaitic literature. The terms "witness to the truth," and "appointed seasons," are well known phrases in these literatures.

Father Brown, in reference to Miss Mowry's article says, "A calendar quarrel may have entered into the scope of the Fourth Gospel."[279] There were no quarrels nor a sectarian calendar during the time of early Christianity. The calendar was well already established in Judaea and was a lunar-solar one.

The calendar employed by John was a lunar-solar one, the same as was in vogue among the Jews of that period. John says, Chap. 20.1, "The first of the sabbath [of the week] cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark unto the sepulchre." John clearly states that Mary came to the sepulchre on Sunday morning and not at the

[277] *CBQ*, p. 571.
[278] *Ibid.*, pp. 571–74.
[279] *Ibid.*, p. 567.

end of the Sabbath. He says explicitly that she came when it was still dark. One must conclude from this that Sunday began with the sunset of Saturday, which is in accordance with the lunar-solar calendar, which calendar was in use by the Jews of that period. In the same chapter, v. 19, John says, "Οὔσης οὖν ὀψίας τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων ..." The King James version as well as the modern, Revised Standard version, has rendered this passage as follows: "Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week . . . came Jesus and stood in their midst." The Catholic translation, however, has "Now when it was late that same day, the first of the week . . ." This translation is correct. The word ὀψίας in this passage has the connotation "the later part of the day," and not the evening as was rendered in the revised edition.

There is no interrelationship between the Hebrew Scrolls and the Gospel of John and they have no value for the dating of this gospel. They are medieval products.

There is a relationship between the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalyptic literature, i. e., the Book of Enoch, the Psalms of Solomon, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, etc. As to the dating of John this can be deduced from the terminology used by the author. John was the only one of the four authors of the Gospels who does not employ the term, "Festival of Unleavened Bread," he uses instead, the term "Passover."[280] He is the only one who uses the term Messiah. Again, he employs the term Jews throughout the Gospel; also, he frequently applies the term "rabbi" to Jesus. Again, he is the only one who uses the word *paresque*.[281] All this can give us a clue as to the date of the writing of this Gospel.

[280] 2.23, 12.1, 13.1.

[281] 19.31, comp. also S. Zeitlin, *Who Crucified Jesus?*

XI

Where is the Fifth Scroll?

Dr. John Trever in his article "The Discovery of the Scrolls" in *The Biblical Archaeologist* of 1948 wrote ". . . Promply at 2:30 the next day, (Thursday, February 19) Father Sowmy appeared with his brother Karim Sowmy, a customs official at Allenby Bridge . . . Opening their small leather suitcase, they showed me five scrolls wrapped in newspapers (*note* they were wrapped in newspapers and *not linen*) and a small fragment ($4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ cm.)."

The Archbishop Samuel in his article in *The Biblical Archaeologist* of May 1949, in the account of the purchase of the scrolls said that five scrolls were brought to him by the Bedouin; however, when he brought the scrolls to America he exhibited only four, the Isaiah Scroll, the Commentary on Habakkuk, the so-called Manual of Discipline and a scroll which was named and advertised throughout the world by the name of Lamech. (Now that it has been unrolled it appears to be a midrash on the Book of Genesis.) These four scrolls were sold to the Hebrew University. Where is the fifth which the Archbishop purchased from the Bedouin? Dr. Trever, in a note to the article of the Archbishop, said, "Two of the five were later joined together to make the 'Sectarian Document.' " It is strange, and we are entitled to an explanation as to why, when the scroll under the name of "Manual of Discipline" was published by the American School of Oriental Research, edited by Prof. Millar Burrows, not a word was said that it really consisted of two scrolls. It is very important that we know where the first scroll ends and the second begins. Perhaps they are not by the same author.

In 1950 the Palestinian Museum bought some scrolls

from a Bethlehem merchant.[282] One of these scrolls bears a great affinity with the so-called "Manual of Discipline." Now we must ascertain whether the scroll which was purchased by the Palestinian Museum is a part of the so-called "Manual of Discipline" or whether the fifth scroll, which according to Dr. Trever was made a part of the fourth scroll, really belongs to the scroll which was purchased by the Palestinian Museum. The authorities of the Hebrew University should produce a photostat showing where the two scrolls were joined and made one, and how they were joined, whether by needle or otherwise.

Dr. Trever spoke of five scrolls and a small fragment. Of what did the fragment consist and where is it now? All of this should be clarified, particularly as we know that one scroll, the Haftarah Scroll, was suppressed.

The entire discovery is shrouded in mystery. The scrolls supposedly were discovered in Ain Feshkha which is now a part of the Jordan Kingdom. All the finds of antiquity must be reported to the Department of Antiquities, and, they become the property of the government which has the authority either to confiscate them outright or compensate the dealer for his investment or efforts. Mr. Harding says that the Archbishop's claim that he had consulted a member of his congregation who was assistant librarian of the Palestinian Archaeological Museum must be discounted, as this person was not competent to pass judgment of any kind and he did not even report this matter to his superiors.[283] According to Harding's contention, the Archbishop had no right to take the scrolls out of the country. Even if we assume that the Archbishop consulted the assistant librarian, the scrolls are the property of the Jordan King-

[282] Harding, Introductory, *Qumran Cave I*, Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1955, p. 4.

[283] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

dom. The difference between the contention of Harding and that of the Archbishop is this: according to the former the Archbishop had no right to take the scrolls out of the country and should be punished; according to the latter, he thought he had a right to do so. In any case the scrolls belong to the Jordan Kingdom as they were "discovered" in Ain Feshkha, and the Archbishop had a right to demand compensation for his investment in the scrolls. It seems strange that the Jordan government laid no claim to them even though it knew that they were in the United States of America. The Kingdom of Jordan has an ambassador who could have claimed the scrolls by bringing this matter to the attention of the State Department. The scrolls were important because it was maintained that the Isaiah Scroll was the very one from which Jesus had read in the Synagogue. The scrolls would certainly be a great attraction to tourists. We must remember that in the early period the value of the scroll was placed in millions. Is there a possibility that the Jordan Government had no proof that the scrolls had been discovered in Ain Feshkha?[283a]

The identity of the Bedouin who were fortunate in discovering the scrolls has been revealed lately. G. Lancaster Harding says that two Bedouin shepherds of the Ta'amireh tribe, named Mohammed Dhib and Ahmed Mohammed discovered the scrolls in the summer of 1947. Harding in an article in the *Palestinian Quarterly* of July 1949 wrote that up to the time of his writing the shepherd had not been located. He said in a note, "Since writing this Mr. Saad, secretary of the Palestinian Museum, has had an interview with the shepherd." So, for more than two years after the so-called discovery of the scrolls by the Bedouin their names were unknown.

Samuel, the Archbishop of Jerusalem, said in *The Biblical*

[283a] See below.

Archaeologist of May 1949 that on the third Saturday of Tammuz (July) two Bedouin came with a Bethlehem merchant bringing the five scrolls to him with some fragments and that he asked them about the third Bedouin and the other scrolls. (It seems then that there were three Bedouin and not two). The answer was that the third Bedouin took the other scrolls to the Moslem Sheik. We must assume that when the Bedouin came to the Archbishop he asked them their names. He would have done this as a matter of course. He felt that the scrolls were of great importance. He said, "I first heard about the Jerusalem Scrolls during our Holy Week in the month of Nisan (April) 1947." (According to Harding they were discovered in the early summer.) The Archbishop continues, after the merchant told him they were discovered near the Dead Sea, "I felt sure the scrolls must be very important, because I was sure there had been no one living in that area since early Christian times, and thus the scrolls must go back to these times." The Archbishop urged the merchant to try again to get in touch with the other Bedouin and obtain the other scrolls. It would be naive to assume that the Archbishop would not be interested in learning the identity of the Bedouin. Yet, why has he not revealed the names of these fortunate discoverers of the great treasury? Mr. Kiraz, the Bethlehem merchant, says that he owns a half-share of the scrolls. He must have known who the Bedouin were who supposedly discovered the scrolls. An oriental merchant would know the identity of the Bedouin with whom he was dealing. It is very strange that the identity of the discoverers came to light only last year, almost seven years after the supposed discovery. Is there any conclusive evidence that Mohammed Dhib and Ahmed Mohammed were the fortunate Bedouin who discovered the scrolls?

The story goes that when the Bedouin were searching for a strayed goat, they noticed a hole in the rock. This did not arouse their curiosity, however when one of them threw a stone through the hole, they heard the shattering of something. The following day they returned and crawled through the hole and came upon eight jars which were intact. When one was emptied of the contents, the scrolls were discovered. We repeat, none of the archaeologists ever saw the scrolls in the jars. The Archbishop in his article said that the Jerusalem merchant went with the Bedouin to the cave and reported back to him that they found many pieces of old wrappings on the floor of the cave, pieces of broken jars and one complete jar. Sukenik reported that he bought two jars from the Bethlehem merchant and that he was told that scrolls had been in these jars. No other scrolls were discovered in Ain Feshkha. These scrolls which the Bedouin supposedly discovered were almost at the surface of the cave for a period of approximately 2,000 years. It is indeed strange that the archaeologists did not discover any other scrolls in Ain Feshkha. It is claimed that discoveries were made in other caves in the vicinity of Ain Feshkha.

XII

Qumran Cave I

The discoveries in Qumran Cave I were published by D. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik.[284] The main portion of the text comprises 28–A and 28–B. The text of 28–A is the larger and has a great affinity with the so-called Manual of Discipline where we have not only identical words and phrases but entire passages. On the other hand,

[284] See n. 282.

it has great affinity with the scroll, named "The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness." Not only is the word במלחמה found in both texts, but the general context of the scrolls shows definite affinity with each other. Both of the texts refer to war, which subject is not alluded to in "Manual of Discipline." The problem which confronts us is whether this scroll is an integral part of the so-called "Manual of Discipline" or a part of the so-called "The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness." On the other hand, is there not a possibility that it is an entirely different scroll which came from the same group? The latter alternative is more plausible. In this scroll the phrase תמימי דרך is found and it also appears in the karaitic literature. There is something strange about this scroll. It seems from the context the priest is superior to the messiah, the priest is first and the messiah comes after him. This is indeed odd that the priest should be placed above the messiah. Any sect in the Second Commonwealth which believed in the messiah would not hold the priest superior to him. We do find, however, in the karaitic literature, the term משיח which may refer to an anointed priest, and the high priest was superior to משיח. Also, we find in the karaitic literature such expressions as בן המשיח, the son of messiah. Judging by the contents of this scroll we must say it is medieval and bears great similarity to the other two scrolls above mentioned which are medieval.

The text which the editors call 28–B is entitled by them the Collection of Benedictions. There is no indication in these benedictions that they belong to the pre-Christian period.

These are the most extensive fragments published by the editors; however, they were not discovered by the archaeologists in any cave. They were bought from a

Bethlehem merchant by the Palestinian Museum in the year 1950.[285] There is *no evidence* whatsoever that they were found in the Qumran cave. In all probability *they were never there.* They are part and parcel of the scrolls which the late Sukenik bought from a Bethlehem merchant, and of the scrolls which the Archbishop bought from Bedouin and for which the Bethlehem merchant put in a claim as part owner. The rest are only small fragments. Some of them have a line or two, some have only a few words, but the majority consists of only letters.[286] The editors made ingenious constructions of them. The construction of the fragments, words, and letters can be made in different ways. Among the fragments which were discovered the editors maintained one was a Commentary on Micah. Two fragments have the following words:

אחרית	ה לוא
ה כבודו	הפתא
עברו	שה בו[286a]

The words of these fragments do not establish that they are a commentary on Micah, nor is the text of the fragments a commentary on Zephaniah. Even if we should grant that the texts of the fragments as they were reconstructed by the editors are parts of commentaries on the prophets, this does not establish that they belong to the pre-Christian period. Karaites and Rabbanites wrote commentaries during the Middle Ages. In fact, some of the readings of the prophets do not agree with the so-called Masoretic text; and that some of them are in agreement with the text of the Septuagint is not surprising, since we have previously shown that during the Middle Ages there were still texts of the Bible used by the rabbis and by the

[285] See *ibid.*, p. 4.
[286] See facsimiles XIII–XIV. [286a] Facsimile XIII.

Karaites, which differed from the so-called Masoretic text and were in agreement with the Septuagint.

Fifty-eight small pieces of fragments, some of which had only two letters, after being reconstructed by the editors, were said to be a philactery.[286b] There is a question whether all of these fragments belong to one text. There is even a question of paleography, for the letters differ in form and there is reason to assume that they were not written by one scribe. They were not a phylactery. They were a concoction of biblical words. The fragments given in photostatic form on plates 18 and 19 were called the "Words of Moses" which were held to have some parts of Deuteronomy in them. They were ingeniously constructed. One thing is sure, they do not contain the Words of Moses. We have a sort of a midrash. There is nothing which gives us the right to assume that these fragments are a part of text called the Words of Moses.

The scrolls named the Rules of the Congregation and the scroll of the Benediction[286c] which are of great length were not discovered by the archaeologists, they were bought from a merchant. All the others are small fragments. Even if we should grant that the reconstruction of the text is valid, the fragments are of no importance as they cannot be proven to be of the pre-Christian period; secondly, their contents do not reveal anything new in the Hebrew literature.

XIII

Recent Literature

The September 1955 issue of *The Journal of Biblical Literature*, is entirely devoted to the scrolls. The first article is by Dr. J. J. Kelso who recounts the same stereo-

[286b] Facsimile XIV.

[286c] Facsimiles XV–XVI.

typed story that in the spring of 1947 the Bedouin discovered the scrolls. The jars, he says, "had been sold by the Bedouin to Professor Sukenik."[287] Here is an error, which might be regarded only as slight but in my opinion it is a very important one. The late Prof. Sukenik bought the jars from a Bethlehem merchant,[288] not from the Bedouin. These jars according to Dr. Kelso, are of the pre-Christian period. "There were also two Roman lamps and some Roman cooking pot fragments," he says, "which they dated to the 2nd or 3rd century A. D."[289] These, Dr. Kelso explained, were left by "late" visitors in the cave. What is the basis for the conclusion that the cooking pot and the lamps of the 2nd or the 3rd century were left by late visitors? Maybe they were left by the original visitors? This sort of conclusion is typical of all those who maintain the antiquity of the scrolls. In another place the author says, "A phylactery was one of the important finds."[290] He is, however, silent about what he means by the word "important." The Jews have worn phylacteries for centuries, and they still wear them. The only importance about this "find" was that a Babylonian phylactery of the Middle Ages was "discovered" in a cave near the Dead Sea[291] and was heralded to the world as a great discovery of the second century CE, and some writers even assumed that this phylactery was used by the soldiers of Bar Kokba. It is remarkable that a medieval phylactery should be used by the men of Bar Kokba. How the lack of knowledge has a tendency to deceive!

In the second article Dr. F. Cross deals mainly with paleography. The gross error of the paleographists who

[287] P. 141.
[288] בבית לחם קניתי גם שני כדי־חרס.
[289] P. 142.
[290] P. 146.
[291] Comp. above.

deal with the scrolls, is that they never made any effort to study the Hebrew orthography, and further they overlooked the fact that there were Babylonian scribes and Palestinian scribes. Undoubtedly there was a difference in their script.[292] These shortcomings are evident throughout Dr. Cross' article, and these mar his entire study. He accepted the Nash Papyrus as dated by Prof. Albright. Albright definitely erred in his dating the Nash Papyrus, and hence he was mistaken in dating the Hebrew Scrolls. The Nash Papyrus is in Babylonian script and is of the third or the fourth century CE.[293]

In reference to the *matres lectionis* used in the fragments of the book of Samuel Dr. Cross says, "We have argued elsewhere that the fullest use of the *matres lectionis* was achieved in the Maccabean era. Whereas we cannot argue too strenuously on the basis of this evidence, it tends to confirm other arguments, and, in turn, to corroborate the pre-Maccabean date of the scrolls."[294] Yes, it is vain to exert the effort to argue. Any serious student of the history of Hebrew orthography knows that the *matres lectionis* in the Holy Scriptures were introduced by R. Akiba in the second century CE. They were used (to simplify the reading) in profane writings, i. e., in documents and letters before the time of R. Akiba; however, this revolutionary change in their use in the Holy Scriptures was brought about by this sage, which fact is well established by the tannaitic literature.

Dr. Cross in his article in the *Christian Century*[295] said that the text in the fragments of the book of Samuel reads, "I will present him [as] a Nazarite forever . . . the historical datum that Samuel was a Nazarite was lost forever —

[292] See above.
[293] See above.
[294] P. 165.
[295] August 10, 1955.

until the new scroll was deciphered." The historical datum was "lost forever" only to those who are not acquainted with the rabbinical literature. Students of the Mishne know that Samuel was a Nazarite according to the Tannaim for it is so stated there.[296] In all probability the scribe of the fragments of the book of Samuel added these words, "a Nazarite forever," basing them on the tannaitic literature.

The faulty explanations of the Hebrew Scrolls, due to the lack of knowledge of rabbinic literature, is evident not only among the Christian scholars but among the Jews as well. Dr. H. L. Ginsberg, in a recent article,[297] attaches significance to the fact that in Deut. 6.20 the Masoretic text has "the ordinances which the Lord our God has commanded *you*," whereas the Septuagint has "us" instead of "you." "Incredible as it may sound," says Ginsberg, "our Haggadah agrees in every one of these respects with the Septuagint. Modern Occidental Haggadahs, to be sure, have corrected the son's question into "commanded *you*" so as to make it agree with the Masoretic Text, but early Oriental Haggadahs still have the Septuagint reading ("commanded *us*")." It is regrettable that Prof. Ginsberg was unaware that the early Haggadahs followed the Palestinian Talmud where the reading is "commanded *us*"[298] and did not follow the Septuagint. The Oriental Haggadahs followed Maimonides' *Mishne Torah* where the text has "commanded *us*."[299] If the biblical scholars had a knowledge of rabbinic literature they would have fewer faulty emendations and erroneous interpretations of the Bible.

[296] M. Nazir 9. נזיר היה שמואל.

[297] *Commentary*, November 1955, pp. 468–474.

[298] Pes. 10, בן חכם מהו אומר מה העדות . . . אשר צוה ה' אלהינו אותנו; see also the so-called Mekilta, אשר צוה — אותנו. Comp. S. Zeitlin, "The Liturgy of the First Night of Passover," *JQR*, 1948, pp. 451–54.

[299] Comp. Deut. 26.5–8. וירד מצרימה ויגר שם . . . ביד חזקה ובזרע נטויה.

In the same issue of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* there is an article on the scrolls by Charles T. Fritch of the Princeton Theological Seminary. It is full of errors and shows a complete lack of knowledge of the subject of which he deals and is arrogant in tone. Let me comment on his division of the periods. He speaks of the Maccabean and Hasmonean periods.[300] There were no Maccabean and Hasmonean periods. Only Judah was designated Maccabee. He engaged in guerilla warfare against the Syrians, and was killed in battle in the year 161 BCE. His entire activities lasted about six years, after the death of his father Mattathias the Hasmonean. Judah Maccabee left no heir, and the leadership was taken over by his brothers, first by Jonathan and later by Simon; however, we cannot speak of a Maccabean and Hasmonean period. There were no two such periods.

Dr. Fritsch says further, "It is now clear that the last two periods (the early Christian, and the Middle Ages) are entirely out of the question as far as the origin of the Qumran sect is concerned, and any argumentation with the proponents of these views is simply a waste of time.[301] Because I am one of those who maintained that the Hebrew Scrolls are of the Middle Ages, all my writings, according to Dr. Fritsch, *are a waste of time*, and apparently he classifies the writings of Professors Driver, Lacheman, Orlinsky, Reider and Weis also as "a waste of time." Since Dr. Fritsch did not introduce any arguments for an early dating of the Scrolls and has offered no refutation of my arguments, may I be pardoned if I return the compliment with this one addition, that in my humble opinion I consider that his article also was a waste of paper.

[300] P. 177, "Maccabean, Hasmonean, early Christian, and the Middle Ages."

[301] *Ibid.*

Dr. Fritsch speaks of the relation between Essenism and Pharisaism, "as being now clearly recognized." There was no relation whatsoever between these two sects. The *views* of the Pharisees were in direct opposition to those of the Essenes. Such an opinion as voiced by Fritsch not only betrays his lack of familiarity with the doctrines of these two sects, but is a travesty on the history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth.

Dr. Fritsch says further, "The statement of Josephus that the Essenes were held in honor by Herod must be taken with a large grain of salt . . . Josephus may not have been aware of all the facts."[302] Josephus, who lived at the time of the Essenes and who, according to his own statement, was for a while a member of the sect, did not know all the facts! Dr. Fritsch of the Princeton Theological Seminary, even without being familiar with the sources, knows all the facts about the Essenes!

Since Professor Millar Burrows was director of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1947, when the scrolls were supposedly discovered by the Bedouin, he bore responsibility for the veracity in connection with the discovery and the controversies in connection with their antiquity. He gives an account of the discovery in the first chapter of his recent publication, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*. He has added nothing new to what we already know from the writings of the late Prof. Sukenik, the Archbishop Samuel and Dr. Trever. He deals with all the arguments about the scrolls, pro and con; but again he has added nothing new, and he did not refute any arguments against their antiquity.

No one doubts the sincerity and integrity of Professor Burrows. He has enriched scholarship. However, we must take strong exception to his statements about the Hebrew

[302] P. 181, n. 26.

Scrolls. Furthermore, his reliance on the theories propounded by others in connection with scrolls was a reliance on "broken reeds," and here we find his weakness and errors.

In enumerating the scrolls which supposedly were discovered by the Bedouin, Prof. Burrows says of one of them: "The Scroll contained the lost 'Apocalypse of Lamech,' known hitherto only by name from an ancient Greek list of apocalyptic writings."[303] Dr. H. L. Ginsberg also in his recent article[304] says, "We have even the Aramaic original of a pseudepigraphon (the book of Lamech) whose existence was previously known only from an old book list, but of which no copy was extant in any language."

The announcement by the professors of the discovery of an apocalyptic book was premature and baseless. In the November, 1955 issue of the *Bulletin of the American Friends of the Hebrew University*, it is stated that a report was received by Dr. B. Mazar, its president, that the scroll known as the "Book of Lamech" had been unrolled and had been found "to be a paraphrase and commentary of the Biblical Book of Genesis, written in Hebrew and Aramaic." This same statement was also made to me orally by Dr. Mazar. Thus it is not true as the Professors claimed that in this scroll "we have even the Aramaic original of a pseudepigraphon (The Book of Lamech)." This is one of the many faulty statements which the scholars have made without first having carefully examined the text.

It is worth while recording here the closing paragraphs of the article:

"The Scroll of Lamech is an apocryphal work referred to in several ancient texts of which no copy previously was known. Professor W. F. Albright of Johns Hopkins

[303] P. 40.
[304] P. 470.

University, who examined the scroll, said that he personally dated it to be the first or the second century before the Common Era, and that when completely unrolled and analyzed, it would make an invaluable contribution to the study of post-Biblical literature." It seems that this passage must have been written previous to the report received by Dr. Mazar that it was not a book of Lamech as assured by Prof. Albright but a commentary on the Book of Genesis. Commentaries on biblical books were not written in the first or second century before the Common Era. Apparently the writer of this article did not realize the contradiction between the two passages.

Burrows said that the assertion that the scrolls were more than two thousand years old "did stand long without challenge." "As early as October 1948," Burrows says, "Professor Solomon Zeitlin of the Dropsie College without having seen any of the text, included in an article on another subject an expression of doubt concerning the authenticity of the Habakkuk Commentary." By this statement apparently he wanted to convey that I sought to cast doubt on the authenticity of the Ms. without having seen it. This is not entirely correct. I quote what I wrote in the *JQR* of October 1948, "Recently there was a news release of a phenomenal discovery of manuscripts in Palestine. One was identified as a part of a commentary on the book of Habakkuk . . . This discovery was given prominence in the May (1948) issue of the *Biblical Archaeologist.* Although I have not seen these manuscripts and have not the right to pass judgement I have my doubts about them. I know that during the Second Commonwealth the Jews did not write commentaries on biblical Books. Such writings began at a much later time." Thus my doubts were not cast on the authenticity but the antiquity of the scrolls. Having been a student of the history of the Second

Jewish Commonwealth all my life, I know that the Jews did not write commentaries on biblical books at that time. I believe it absurd to assume that a commentary on the book of Habakkuk was written then.

In his account of the supposed discovery of the scrolls, Dr. Burrows fails to mention the letter written to Mr. Harding by Mr. Hamilton wherein he stated that Dr. Trever told him of three scrolls which had been on the premises of the convent of St. Mark for about 20 years. I believe that this letter is very important. Dr. Burrows who was the head of the school that year, should have enlightened us about the letter. Dr. Burrows says that he is satisfied with the explanation given by Dr. Trever in his article in the *JQR* of July 1950 about the Scroll of Haftarah which Mr. Wechsler saw when he visited the convent of St. Mark with Mr. Stephan and which later was suppressed. Dr. Burrows fails to mention the letter which he received from Dr. Trever on February 22, 1951, wherein it is stated that he had forgotten about a leather scroll which he had seen in the Syrian Library on Tuesday, February 24, 1948, and that although he did not examine it carefully he felt sure it was a Torah and not a Haftarah Scroll. In the said article in the *JQR*, July 1950, in reply to Mr. Wechsler and to my query "Where is the Scroll of Haftarot?" Dr. Trever said nothing about the scroll which he saw in the library and which he thought a Torah and not a Haftarot Scroll. It is even stranger that Dr. Burrows should accept the statement of Dr. Trever who on Thursday, February 9, 1948 said that when the Hebrew Scrolls were brought to him, the Hebrew "looked strange to my inexperiencend eyes,"[305] and that on the following Tuesday he already recognized the scroll

[305] *Biblical Archaeologist*, September, 1948, p. 47.

to be a Torah and not a *Haftarot* and that Mr. Wechsler mistook the Isaiah Scroll, or the so-called "Manual of Discipline," for the Haftarot. It is needless for me to keep repeating that Mr. Wechsler is a very learned man, and has recited the Haftarah in the Synagogue many times on the Sabbath Day from a Scroll. This would be tantamount to saying that I would mistake an Isaiah Scroll or another scroll for a Haftarah scroll. The question is where is the *Haftarah Scroll*? This still needs an explanation and Dr. Burrows who was the head of the School that year should exert all his efforts to give it.

The late Prof. Sukenik said that a Jerusalem merchant told him that he was a partner with the Archbishop in the purchase of the scrolls.[306] Mr. Wechsler says that when he and Stephan arrived at the library, the Archbishop introduced an Arab as the owner of the scrolls.[307] It seems very odd that Prof. Burrows is silent about this very important fact.

Mr. Wechsler in his article in the *JQR*, January 1951, included a letter written to him by Mr. Stephan from Cyprus on January 8, 1949, in which he questions the integrity of the merchant who had been introduced to them as the owner of the scrolls. The letter reads in part as follows:

> . . . Ich hatte s. Zt. erfahren, dass der Händler kein *koscherer Mensch war*, (italics mine) und betrachtete das Ganze mit einem kritischen Blick. Dreimal, zu verschiedenen Zeiten, bat ich den Bischof, sich damit nicht zu befassen. Aber er hatte ja andere Pläne u. zeigte uns nur die "jüngere" Geniza, Sommer 1947 . . .[308]

Professor Burrows ignored the letter as well as the statements of Sukenik and Wechsler.

[306] . . . הוא היה שותפו של הבישוף בקנייה זו.

[307] בו חכה לנו ערבי, שהוצג על ידו בתור בעל הכחבים.

[308] *JQR*, 1951, p. 248.

In speaking of the Carbon 14 test of the cloth in which the scrolls supposedly were wrapped, Dr. Burrows again fails to mention that this test is considered unreliable. Even Prof. Rowley who believes in the antiquity of the scrolls, quotes Deevy who wrote, "In general the method has fulfilled its original promise. In detail, however, there are puzzles, contradictions and weaknesses. It will be a long time before radiocarbon dating is as straightforward as an electric dishwasher."[309]

In connection with the so-called discovery of a phylactery, Dr. Burrows said, "Interesting for the history of Jewish religious practices was a complete phylactery."[310] As a Jew and a student of Jewish religious practices all my life, I fail to see what interest the discovery of a phylactery has for the history of Jewish religion. The Jews wore phylacteries since antiquity. The phylactery, supposedly discovered, was Babylonian and of the Middle Ages. Prof. Burrows should explain how a Babylonian phylactery of the Middle Ages came to be discovered in a cave near the Dead Sea.

Prof. Burrows, in dealing with the so-called letters of Bar Kokba wrote, "There are even two letters bearing his name and believed by the excavators to be original letters from him in person." Dr. Burrows, strangely enough, did not realize that this letter could not have been written by Bar Kokba as it begins with the preposition "from," and that no letter at that time began that way. No letters then bore any signature at the end. The title of the sender was always in the beginning of the letter, whereas in this letter it is at the end.[311] Furthermore, in that period the word *bar* or בן *ben* was never used to identify a person as

[309] *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 18, n. 5.
[310] P. 58.
[311] See above.

coming from a particular city. The word איש was employed, followed by the name of the city, as תודס איש רומא, Todos of Rome. We cannot imagine that Bar Koseba was his proper name or that it was the name of his father. He would not identify himself as a liar or the son of a liar (Koseba means lie.)[312]

Prof. Burrows also relates that "one text, of which several incomplete copies were found, was dated by 'the deliverance of Israel by the hand of Simon ben Kosebah.' "[313] He does not indicate whether or not this text is part of a letter or of a document, whether it occurs in the beginning of the document or at the end, or even in the middle. What is the context of the whole fragment? As long as we do not have all the details about the text quoted by Dr. Burrows, it is hazardous to maintain that it is a Bar Kokba document. It is more probably a document which was written in the Middle Ages and has reference to the war of Bar Kokba.

Dr. H. L. Ginsberg in the above cited article[314] also refers to this document. He says, "Several fragmentary Hebrew documents dated by 'the deliverance of Israel through Simeon ben Kosbah, Prince of Israel' " were found. Did Dr. Ginsberg see these documents, and if so it is of paramount importance that he answer my question which I posed above, and I repeat, does this text appear in the beginning, the end or even in the middle of the document or letter? (I urged the editor of *Commentary* to request H. L. Ginsberg to give this information in an early issue of the *Commentary*.) If, however, Dr. Ginsberg did not see the fragment, there would be no justification to say the least, for him to make such a statement, as it would delude the readers into believing that Dr. Ginsberg has examined such a document.

[312] See *JQR*, 1952, pp. 77–80.
[313] P. 58. [314] P. 469.

The so-called Masoretic text gives the name of the general of the Assyrian Army as *Rabshakeh*; the Isaiah Scroll, however, gives it as *Rab Shakeh*. The latter, according to Professor Burrows, is closer to the original Assyrian name. He says, however, "The preservation of forms closer to the original Assyrian name or titles does not necessarily prove that this ms. is very ancient, but it indicates dependence at these points on a tradition older than the Masoretic text." In 1951 when I was examining biblical mss. in the library of the Vatican I came across several mss. of the book of Isaiah which contain the name *Rab Shakeh*,[315] and these mss. are all of the late medieval period.

It was pointed out previously that Prof. Burrows in dealing with scrolls relied on writers whom we might call "broken reeds." It is of great significance that he does not quote original sources but depends on other writers. I shall give here a few examples of his doing so. Prof. Burrows relies for datum about the Day of Atonement mentioned in the Commentary on Habakkuk on an article by Talmon in the *Biblica*.[316] He says, "Talmon recalls a striking parallel to this incident: at about the end of the first century A. D. Rabban Gamaliel ordered Rabbi Joshua, whose view of the calendar he considered unorthodox, to appear before him with staff and purse on the day which Rabbi Joshua believed to be the Day of Atonement."[317] It is regrettable that Prof. Burrows was misled by Talmon who did not fully grasp the meaning of the passage referred to in the Talmud. Rabbi Joshua did not hold an unorthodox view on the calendar.

According to the Jewish law the sanctification of the new moon was pronounced after two witnesses had testified

[315] רב שקה, see *JQR*, 1951, pp. 133–154.
[316] 1951, pp. 549–63.
[317] P. 239.

that they had seen the "birth" of the new moon. The story recorded in the Talmud in regard to the conflict between R. Gamaliel and R. Joshua was this: Two witnesses testified before R. Gamaliel who was the head of the Sanhedrin on the "birth" of the new moon, and on this testimony he sanctified the new moon. R. Joshua, however, knew according to his calculations that these witnesses gave false testimony, they did not see the "birth" of the new moon. Although R. Gamaliel recognized that possibly R. Joshua was right, he could not admit that he had made a mistake, and in order to demonstrate to the Jews that the decision of the court must be upheld, he ordered R. Joshua to appear before him with his staff and purse on the Day of Atonement according to R. Joshua's reckoning, since he maintained that the witnesses who had testified were false, the "birth" of the new moon being later. There was no difference of opinion between R. Gamaliel and R. Joshua about the calendar. R. Gamalie never considered R. Joshua's view on the calendar unorthodox.[318]

The Zadokite Fragments has these words: ובקץ חרון שנים שלש מאות ותשעים לתתו אותם ביד נבוכדנצר "After he gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar." "This is contrary," said Prof. Burrows, "to normal Hebrew usage. The phrase would ordinarily mean either 'at his giving' (i. e., 'when he gave') or 'to his giving' (i. e., 'until he gave')."[319] This statement of Burrows is based on an article by I. Rabinowitz.[320] The proposition of ל of the word לתתו means after, and it is not contrary to the normal Hebrew usage. Anyone acquainted with Hebrew literature should know this simple fact. Comp. Talmud A. Z. 9,

[318] באו שנים ואמרו ראינוהו בזמנו ובליל עיבורו לא נראה אמר ר' דוסא בן הורכינס עדי שקר הן . . . אמר לו ר' יהושע רואה אני את דבריך. שלח לו ר' גמליאל נוזרני עליך שהבא אצלי במקלך ובמעותיך ביום הכיפורים שחל להיות בחשבונך.

[319] P. 197.

[320] *JBL*, March, 1954.

ארבע מאות שנה לחורבן הבית "400 years after the destruction of the Temple."

As to my contention that we have in the early rabbinic literature readings which are at variance with the so-called masoretic Prof. Burrows relies on Dr. Sonne's objections to my view. "Zeitlin's arguments," he says, "have been subjected to searching analyses by I. Sonne."[321] I have shown in the previous pages, and in my article, "The Hebrew Scrolls and the Status of Biblical Scholarship,"[322] that Dr. Sonne did not fully comprehend the rabbinic texts with which he dealt.

Prof. Burrows also says, "Judah the Galilean is believed by many historians (*sic*) to have been the founder of the group known as the Zealots."[323] This is incorrect. Judah the Galilean was dead long before the Zealot party came into existence.

Prof. Burrows says in another place, "Even the Pharisees themselves were reported to have been divided into seven categories."[324] This is a gross error due to his reliance on literature instead on sources. The Pharisees were not divided into seven categories. The word *Perushim* in the Talmud sometimes refers to the Pharisees and sometimes to "separatists." The author or authors upon whom Prof. Burrows relied did not differentiate between the two.[325] Burrows' statement that some references to the Essenes are found in the rabbinic literature is not correct.

I have so far quoted some of the errors and misstatements by Prof. Burrows made because of his reliance on other writers whom we designate "broken reeds." It is evident that anyone supporting himself on a broken reed may be injured and fall.

[321] P. 107.
[322] *JQR*, pp. 155–163.
[323] P. 294.
[324] P. 278.
[325] *JQR*, 1953, pp. 299–300.

I shall now instance a few of the blunders made by Prof. Burrows in his book. He says, on p. 230, "After the death of Judas the reconstituted Jewish community under Jonathan (160–142 B. C.) was called 'the Congregation of Israel,' and it is so named on his coins." Jonathan did not mint coins. Judaea was still under the Seleucids. In his time there was no "Congregation of Israel." Neither is Professor Burrows right when he says that the congregation of the city became a Pharasaic institution.

On p. 278 Prof. Burrows says that the Pharisees had societies which were called *Haburah* and that the members were called *Haberim*. The Pharisees during the Second Commonwealth had no societies called *Haburah* and the members were *not* called *Haberim*. On the same page Prof. Burrows says further, "They [the Pharisees] were also called *Rabbim*, as the members of the sect are called in the Manual of Discipline." On p. 234 he says, "I have therefore adopted the word 'master' to translate *rabbim*." Prof. Burrows took the word "Rabbi" which is singular and made this a plural *rabbim*. The title "Rabbi" has no plural in rabbinic literature, and this is a most unfortunate blunder;[325a] hence his translation of the word *rabbim* in the scrolls, "masters" destroys the meaning of the text.[326] Incidentally, the title "Rabbi" was never used by the Pharisees. It was introduced after the destruction of the Second Temple. This erroneous rendering is characteristic of all those who have dealt with Hebrew Scrolls who are not students of rabbinics and the history of Judaism.

Prof. Burrows, for whom I have the greatest respect as a person, for his integrity and sincerity and for his scholar-

[325a] It reminds us of the Professor who translated דורש ברבים "who is preaching for the rabbis."

[326] The translations of the scrolls are replete with errors, (see my review).

ship which he greatly contributed in his own field, has so far as I know never claimed to be a scholar of rabbinics or of the history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth. He relied in his book upon writings the merits of which he could not properly evaluate, and he has made blunders. In all sincerity I do not consider such blunders as a reflection upon him or other scholars who are archaeologists, Assyriologists, Egyptologists and students of Ugaritic. I myself know nothing about the subjects in which they are specialists and would not consider it an affront if someone were to tell me that I am not versed in these subjects.[327] It is regrettable that scholars who are eminent in their own fields should venture into a field foreign to them, and this refers to the Christian as well as to the Jewish scholars.

Among the proofs I advanced against the antiquity of the so-called "The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness," was the statement that the priests should not defile the oil of their priestly anointment with the blood of the pagan. I said that this prohibition indicates positively that this scroll was not written during the Second Commonwealth, since during that period the priests were not anointed with oil. Dr. Yadin said, according to the *Maariv* of July 29, 1955, that I did not properly understand the scroll. Since the author of it was opposed to normative Judaism he wanted to have the Judaism as practiced in the time of the First Temple and even the time of Moses, in the desert.[328]

[327] *Non me pudet fateri nescire quod nesciam.* (Cicero) I am not ashamed to confess that I am ignorant of what I do not know.

[328] משנהו העיקרי של צייטלין הוא כי הוא אינו יורד לעומק מהותה של אותה כת הקרויה בני אור . . . כת זו התנגדה בכל תוקף למשטר החיים בסוף התקופת בית שני, היא לא השתייכה ליהדות ה„רשמית" שהשאירה לנו את המשנה . . . היא רצתה לחזור למשטר־החיים של תקופת בית ראשון ואף לתקופת־המדבר . . . בני האור שאפו שהעם יחולק מחדש ל־12 שבטים . . . וכהן משוח מבני אהרן . . . לכן לא השתמשו בני־אור בטרמינולוגיה השגורה בבית שני.

The author of the scroll said that the priests should not defile the oil of their anointments with the blood of the pagan. The Pentateuch does not mention that the blood of a pagan was defiling. This law *is rabbinic* and was enacted by the sages after the destruction of the Second Temple.[329]

Dr. Yadin, for whom I have great respect as a general and archaeologist, is not familiar with rabbinics; otherwise he would have known this simple fact. Further, he says that the author does not use the terminology which was in vogue during the Second Commonwealth. What about the words רפאל, נחשיר, עתודים? Are these found in the Pentateuch? Also he should have explained how parentheses[330]

[329] Comp. Sifre, see above.

[330] I was challenged by some one quoting a person versed in rabbinics, that my statement that parentheses to signify that words should not be read came into practice during the Middle Ages. We have in the Pentateuch, Num. 10, before the v. 35 ויהי בנסע הארן a inverted *nun*, נון הפוכה and after v. 36 we also have an inverted *nun* which may be of some indication that parentheses were used in the early days.

The fact is that it is stated in the Talmud Shab. 115, that there were dots above and beneath the words סימניות מלמעלה ולמטה of the v. 35 of Num. 10. This is also stated in the Sifre *ad loc.* There is no mention in either place of inverted *nuns*.

Maimonides in his book the *Mishne Torah* where he gave in minute detail all the laws in connection with writing Pentateuchal scrolls even laid down the rule when a letter should be written in a large form and when it should be written in small form. He does not mention inverted *nuns* before ויהי בנסע and this is evident that Maimonides knew nothing about inverted *nuns* in the Pentateuch.

R. Solomon Luria (1510–1573) in his *novella* on the Talmud Shab. thought that a Pentateuchal scroll which has inverted *nuns* should be declared unfit. בפרש"י מדויק ראית כתב כך נון הפוכה ז ויהי בנסע הארן ז ועל זה כומכין הנקדנים לעשות ב' נונין אחת קודם ויהי בנסע ואחרת אחריה אבל במדויק לא ראיתי וקרוב בעיני שפסולה, לפי מה שפסלינין בחסר ויתיר אפי' אות אחת ולכתחילה לכ"ע אסור.

Luria in his Responsa also was inclined to declare that a Torah which has inverted *nuns* as unfit. He said, however, the *Zohar* which he believed was tannaitic, as it was compiled by R. Simon b. Yochai, did have a reference to the inverted *nuns* in the Pentateuch.
ותמה אני עליהם לכתוב ב' אותיות בתורה שלא לצורך ולפוסלה . . . וטעו התלמידים וסברו שהסימנים הם כנונין . . . בפרט מאחר שאינה כתובה לא במשנה ולא בגמרא ולא

and connecting lines between two words happened to be used in this scroll. This practice came into vogue during the Middle Ages. Also will he tell us how the word *Togar* happened to be found in this scroll? The Pentateuch has *Togarmah.* The word *Togar* came into usage in the *late* Hebrew literature.[331]

Their error in assigning antiquity to the scrolls should serve as a warning to the archaeologists. In the discoveries which they assign to the stone or bronze or iron age, their views must be accepted. They are the sole authorities. However, in judging the age of discoveries of a period where we have an abundance of literary material, archaeologists should be cautious in their statements and should familiarize themselves with the literary material of that period before making *ex cathedra* statements.

The scholars who maintain the antiquity of the scrolls resort to evasive methods. First, they made *ex cathedra* statements that the scrolls are of Essene origin. When it is shown that what Philo and Josephus tell about the

בה"נ אלא העתקת סופרים הוא ואמינ' שיבוש כיון דעל על . . . עד שמצאתי כך בזוהר שהיתה כך הקבלה בימיהן מימות רשב"י . . .

The *Zohar,* however, as we know now, was compiled in the 13th century and is itself a medieval composition. (Moses de Leon stated that the *Zohar* was discovered in a cave in Palestine, probably near the Dead Sea). We may conclude that the inverted *nuns* in Numbers were inserted in the Middle Ages. Comp. גנזי מצרים, ed. Adler, ומיבעי ליה לסופר לעשות תרי נונין הפוכין לפרשת ויהי בנסע הארון שהיא מסורת בידנו. Comp. also Gersonides (1288–1344) commentary on Numb. 10.35, בשני אלו הפסוקים נקוד מלמעלה ומלמטה. In my forthcoming essay on the history of the Masorah I shall endeavor to show when and where the inverted *nuns* were inserted in the Pentateuchal Scroll.

My attention has been called to the fact that in Ezra 7.5, the words בן אהרן הכהן הראש are found. The King James, as well as the J P S translation rendered it "the chief priest." This rendering is wrong. It should have been translated, "the first priest," and it is translated this way in the Septuagint, *πρώτον.* The rabbinic commentators also rendered "the first," הכהן הראש: ראשון לכהנים. It is interesting to note that the Catholic rendering is "the priest from the beginning."

[331] See above p. 6.

Essenes is in contradiction to the doctrines and beliefs found in the scrolls, they invent a new group of Essenes. As to the question why does Josephus not mention this group, they answer that Josephus did not know of it but they do know. The scholars conveniently ignore the proof that references are found to Jewish laws in the Hebrew Scrolls which we know definitely were enacted long after the destruction of the Second Temple.

I shall reiterate my previous request that the scholars should seek to refute my arguments against the antiquity of the Hebrew Scrolls. I shall restate what I said in my lecture on the scrolls at Harvard University, November 21, 1955, "If they really can succeed in doing so and thus prove that the scrolls are of the Second Commonwealth, I shall be more than happy, especially since I am engaged in writing a history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth and new material will be a great help to me." I may add, the scholars may ignore me and thus evade refuting my arguments, but how can they ignore the thousands of the readers of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* many of whom are impressed with my arguments? Also, how can they ignore the vast number who attended my lecture at Harvard University? The *Scribe* (official organ of the Harvard Divinity School Student Association) in the November 21, 1955 issue, said, "Last night in the Semitic Museum Prof. Zeitlin demonstrated positively to a most responsive audience that the so-called "Dead Sea Scrolls" are comparatively worthless medieval documents."

I repeat that the scholars, instead of making *ex cathedra* statements in the daily press, popular magazines and on the radio and television should seek to refute my arguments. Prof. Albright in the *BASOR*, (Sup. 10–12, p. 60) said, "Every point which Zeitlin has raised has been discussed with me by my colleagues in the Baltimore Hebrew College,

Drs. E. H. Golomb and Samuel Iwry, who have pointed out that his arguments from rabbinical data are throughout fallacious." In my article in the *JQR*, October, 1951, I requested Dr. Albright to show wherein my arguments from rabbinical data are fallacious. It is now more than four years and no proofs have been forthcoming from Dr. Albright. I am still waiting, I trust that he will not much longer delay in granting my request. In the same article I also wrote, "Since when have these two men become competent talmudic scholars?" None of them has ever written anything on the tannaitic literature or on the history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth.

It is even more vital that my colleagues of the Hebrew University seek to refute my arguments against the antiquity of the Hebrew Scrolls. They owe it to the prestige of the Hebrew University as the center of Jewish learning.

Wild statements were made in the early days of the so-called discovery of the Hebrew Scrolls that they would revolutionize our knowledge of the Old Testament. The pendulum recently has swung the other way, we are now told that the "discoveries" will revolutionize New Testament scholarship. Prof. Burrows, as a devout Christian, saw cause for some alarm in this and said, "There is no danger, however, that our understanding of the New Testament will be so revolutionized by the Dead Sea Scrolls as to require a revision of any basic article of the Christian faith. All scholars who have worked on the texts will agree that this has not happened and will not happen." However, there are other voices to the contrary. In a letter published in *The New York Times*, November 12, 1955, we read, "It ought to be quite obvious to all that the Dead Sea Scrolls, as Mr. Wilson rightly infers, is going to cause a new evaluation of Christianity. The Pre-Existent Christ,

the establishment of the uniqe sacraments, the development of original ritual, all that the official Church has cherished for the last two thousands years will have to be revaluated." To this we may add that Prof. Dupont-Sommer advanced the theory that there was a Messiah, Christ, before Jesus and that Jesus was only a reincarnation of the Teacher of Righteousness.[332] It is indeed Socratic irony that scrolls written in the Middle Ages by semiliterate Jews have deluded modern Christian scholars and might have an effect on Christianity.[332a]

XIV

The Mystery of the Discovery of the Hebrew Scrolls

I have endeavored to show in the preceding pages that there is no evidence that the seven scrolls were discovered in Ain Feshkha. More than eight years have elapsed since the so-called discovery and it is still shrouded in mystery.

I shall give the successive accounts of the discovery by Dr. Trever, Archbishop Samuel, the late Prof. E. Sukenik, Prof. O. Sellers, Dr. F. Cross, Prof. M. Burrows, and G. L. Harding, the director of antiquities.

Dr. Trever in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, September, 1948, relates the details of the discovery as it was told to him by Father Sowmy. He writes as follows:

> Wandering Bedouin, carrying goods from the Jordan Valley to Bethlehem, they said, chanced upon a cave near the north end of the Dead Sea, high up in the cliffs. The cave had partly collapsed . . . Seeing the scrolls protruding from the fallen debris, the Bedouin pulled them out and tore off the cloth wrappings, thereby

[332] See above.

[332a] Comp. also Floyd V. Filson, *Presbyterian Life*, October 29, 1955.

revealing the ancient contents. They took them to the Moslem Sheikh in Bethlehem hoping that he would buy them. The Sheikh, however, thinking that the script was Estrangelo Syriac, suggested that they take the scrolls to the Syrians in Bethlehem. When the Syrians saw them, they called their Metropolitan, Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, in Jerusalem. He offered to purchase them from the Bedouin, and thus they came into the library of St. Mark's Orthodox Convent in Jerusalem.

Trever further says:

> Later it was revealed that the Bedouin had discovered the scrolls during the summer of 1947. Late in August he guided one of the priests, Father Bulos, from the Syrian Convent to the site of the discovery. The intense heat, however, made it impossible for him to remain longer than a few minutes; for he had no water and only a few melons with him. He recounted how he had seen not only the pieces of cloth wrappings over the floor of the cave, but also numerous fragments of the manuscripts, broken pieces of the jars in which they had been sealed and evidence of ancient graves nearby. The Bedouin claimed that they had taken some of the jars that had not been broken and were using them for water jars (I suggested to the Metropolitan that he try to purchase them from the Bedouin but all his attempts failed.)

According to the account by Dr. Trever the scrolls were found in the summer of 1947 by Bedouin carrying goods from the Valley of the Jordan to Bethlehem who saw the scrolls protruding from the fallen debris. He was the first to discover that the scrolls were ancient Hebrew mss.

We shall now turn to the account by the Archbishop. In an article in the same journal of May, 1949, he says that he heard about the Jerusalem scrolls "during our Holy Week in the month Nisan (April), 1947, according to the Julian calendar." [The Holy Week in 1947 was in the first part of

April]. Hence we must assume that the scrolls were discovered before the spring of 1947 and not in the summer of that year as Dr. Trever relates. The narrative of the Archbishop continues, "One of our community, a merchant in Jerusalem, told me that some Bedouin had found some Syriac manuscripts. He said that he had been told about it by another member of our community, a merchant in Bethlehem, to whom the Bedouin had brought the manuscript." So there are two merchants involved in the story of the Hebrew scrolls. The Archbishop explained that the scrolls were taken to the merchant of Bethlehem, "because they [the Bedouin] thought they were Syriac, and because they had found our merchant there a helpful and trustworthy friend." Thus the Bedouin did not go with the manuscripts to the Sheikh as was recounted by Father Sowmy to Trever but to a merchant. The Archbishop adds, "A few days later [still in the spring] both merchants came to our Convent . . . with one of the scrolls. I examined it carefully. It was not Syriac as they had said, but Hebrew." Therefore, the Archbishop knew already in the spring of 1947 that the scroll was Hebrew. He further relates that he tried to reach the Bedouin through the merchants but did not succeed until midsummer. On the third Saturday of Tammuz, he says, "The two Bedouin returned, and the Bethlehem merchant put the scrolls in a bag; and, accompanied by the Jerusalem merchant, they came to see me. I asked them when they arrived about the third Bedouin and the other scrolls, but they said he had taken them to the Moslem Sheikh in Bethlehem. I purchased the five scrolls plus a few fragments which they had brought." He states that he urged the Jerusalem merchant to go to the cave to check the story of the discovery. "A few weeks later [the merchant] reported that he had gone to the cave with the Bedouin. He said that there were many pieces of

cloth wrappings on the floor of the cave, pieces of broken jars and one complete jar." One discrepancy between the two reports is that Dr. Trever did not mention that a merchant went with the Bedouin to examine the cave before Father Bulos did.

The Archbishop further relates that in October the late Dr. Magnes, president of the Hebrew University, became aware of the existence of the scrolls and sent two men to the Convent to examine them. These two men said "That it would be necessary for them to consult their specialist at the Hebrew University before they could make any kind of a statement . . . they never returned." [These two men were Dr. D. Goldschmidt and S. Shpiro]. They visited the Convent not in October but in the middle of the summer. The Archbishop also tells of the visit of Wechsler and Stephan which he places in the end of September. According to Wechsler and Stephan the visit occurred in the middle of the summer.

Let us now turn to the account by Dr. Sukenik. In his book *Megillot Genuzot* Dr. Sukenik said that he first learned about the scrolls at the end of November 1947 from a Moslem antiquary of Bethlehem. In January 1948, he received additional information from a friend, a Christian Syrian of Jerusalem, who visited the place of the find with the Bedouin who brought these scrolls for sale. The scrolls were said to have been discovered by the Bedouin in the summer of 1947. Dr. Sukenik said that only one or two of the jars in which the scrolls were supposedly discovered were wholly preserved. In the *Haaretz* of Tel Aviv, March 31, 1950, he gave additional details relating to the discovery and purchase of some of the scrolls. He said that on the 29th of November 1947 he met the antiquary and bought from him some fragments and two jars which the Bedouin had brought along with the scrolls, which they said had

been in the jars. Dr. Sukenik also refers to the merchant Kiraz as a partner in the ownership of the scrolls from whom he bought some scrolls. It would be worthwhile to know more about the details regarding the partnership of the Archbishop and the merchant Kiraz.

It is evident from the reports by the Archbishop and Dr. Sukenik that the scrolls were not discovered by archaeologists. The claim is that they were found by Bedouin. Merchants had been trading in the scrolls before Sukenik and Trever learned about the discovery. Sukenik and Trever not only did not interrogate the Bedouin but never met them, Sukenik dealt with merchants and Trever's contact was only with the Archbishop.

We shall now proceed to the account by Dr. Sellers. In *BASOR* of April 1949 Sellers tells of the excavation made in the cave by Harding and R. de Vaux in the hope that the Bedouin might have left some scrolls, and he states how their quest proved fruitless. What they did find were fragments, bits of manuscripts, which they said were parts of scrolls. They also found cigarette stubs in the debris, and, more important, parts of a Roman lamp and a cooking pot which Dr. Sellers held were left by a casual visitor, and he suggested that the visitor was Origen.

In *The Biblical Archaeologist*, February, 1954, Dr. F. Cross relates the following:

> One spring day in 1947, a shepherd of the Ta'amireh tribe, Muhammad Dib by name, roamed the parched cliffs along the Dead Sea looking for a lost sheep. With less singlemindedness than we associate with his ancient profession, he sat down on a rock and threw stones at a ragged, round hole in a heavy shoulder of rock opposite him. One stone whistled through the opening in the cliff-side; but instead of smacking against rock, the stone hit something which shattered. It seemed an odd sound to the Bedouin, and he promptly fled. But later he

returned, reinforced by a colleague or two, and climbed through the orifice in the rock. The tribesmen found jars, broken pottery, and leather scrolls filling the chamber which opened into the mountainside.

Prof. M. Burrows, who was director of the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem at the time of the so-called discovery, in his book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*,[333] places the discovery by the Bedouin in February or March of 1947. He says, "Whenever and however the discovery came about, the cave, when first entered, contained several jars, most of them broken, with pieces of many others. Protruding from the broken jars were scrolls of leather wrapped in linen cloth." The discoverer, according to Prof. Burrows, was a fifteen year old boy of the Ta'amirah tribe Muhammad Dib by name, who "was identified and questioned about two years later." He adds that the Bedouin took the scrolls to the Moslem Sheikh in Bethlehem, and that later the Archbishop of St. Mark's Convent became aware of the scrolls. Prof. Burrows apart from the statement which he made that the Bedouin on entering the cave saw the scrolls "protruding from the broken jars" and which were wrapped in linen cloth, contributes nothing new to the accounts by the Archbishop and Trever.

Now let us see what G. L. Harding has to say. His account of the discovery is as follows:

> The cave was found early in the summer of 1947 by Bedu shepherds of the Ta'amireh tribe named Mohammed edh Dhib and Ahmed Mohammed . . . They were searching for a stray goat up a hillside where they had not previously been, and noticed a small hole in the rock face which attracted their curiosity. This was still further aroused when one of them threw in a stone and heard it hit and apparently break something. They

[333] Pp. 4–5.

returned the next day and crawled in through the upper hole. The cave in which they found themselves was a narrow cleft, and on the floor they could distinguish eight large jars intact, five on one side and three on the other. Some of the jars still had their bowl-like covers on them.

Fired with visions of golden treasure, they hurriedly but rather nervously investigated the contents of the jars. All save one were empty, and from that one they drew forth one large leather roll and two smaller ones. Most disappointed, they left with their booty . . . A vivid account I was given by one relative of how the large scroll, when unrolled reached from one end of the tent to the other seems to identify it as the Isaiah Scroll. From descriptions of the others it seems possible they were the Manual of Discipline and the Habakkuk Commentary. Eventually they both took them to Bethlehem, the main shopping-center for the tribe, and a shopkeeper there of the Assyrian community, thinking they might be in Syriac, sent them to St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem, where after some negotiations they remained. Certain people in the monastery were interested in them, considering they might be valuable ancient manuscripts, and persuaded the shepherds to show them the cave. The shepherds from now on have no further part in the proceedings.

They continued to graze their flocks in the vicinity of the cave, and report that during the next few months people from the monastery made frequent visits there, enlarging a lower entrance, and excavating very thoroughly. In the course of this work they must have recovered all the rest of the known manuscripts and large fragments, some of which were eventually acquired by the Hebrew University. In February of 1948 the Archbishop of St. Mark's sent some of the scrolls to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem for an opinion . . . Later he smuggled out of the country the Isaiah Scroll, the Manual of Discipline, the Habakkuk Commentary, the Lamech Apocalypse, and some large

fragments of Daniel, and eventually took them to America with him.[334]

The account of the discovery of the scrolls as given by Harding differs radically from those by the Archbishop, Trever and Burrows. According to the Archbishop the scrolls were discovered in the spring of 1947 by Bedouin who carried goods from the Jordan Valley to Bethlehem, and they were not shepherds who grazed their flocks near the cave. According to Trever who also said the Bedouin were carrying goods (incidentally, Wilson said they were contrabandists) they saw the scrolls *protruding from the debris*. According to Burrows, when the Bedouin entered the cave he saw the scrolls *protruding from broken jars* and found them *wrapped in linen cloth*, while according to Harding there were eight jars, seven empty and from one jar the Bedouin drew forth one large scroll and two smaller ones. He does not mention that the scrolls were wrapped in linen. Who gave Prof. Burrows the information that the scrolls were wrapped in linen cloth? Was it the fifteen year old shepherd? The scrolls were brought to the Archbishop "in a bag," they were not in linen cloth. I trust that Prof. Burrows will enlighten us who gave him the information about the "linen cloth." Harding is of the opinion that the large scroll which the Bedouin drew out from the jar was the Isaiah Scroll and that the two small scrolls were the Manual of Discipline and the Habakkuk Commentary. Since we are told now that the Manual of Discipline consists of two scrolls, the Bedouin then drew out, in addition to the Isaiah Scroll, the two small scrolls of the Manual of Discipline or the Habakkuk Commentary with a part of the Manual of Discipline. We now are confronted with the question as to where the additional scrolls came from.

[334] *Qumran Cave* I, p. 5

Harding says that the scrolls were discovered in the early summer, and that shortly afterwards they were sent to the Archbishop. The latter says, that "on the first Saturday of Tammuz (July)" the merchant of Bethlehem called upon him to say that three Bedouin had come with the scrolls. Incidentally the first Saturday of Tammuz in 1947 was the twenty-first of June and not in July. Wechsler's statement that he visited the Archbishop in the month of July to examine the scrolls does not square with Harding's account. There is another discrepancy; according to Harding, the Bedouin found eight large jars all well preserved, according to the late Prof. Sukenik, only two jars were preserved, while according to Burrows when the Bedouin entered the cave he found several jars "most of them broken."

According to the Archbishop the Bedouin who discovered the scrolls came to him on the third Saturday of Tammuz (July 5) with five scrolls and a few fragments which he bought. A few weeks later he says, the Jerusalem merchant went with the Bedouin to the cave and reported back to him that he had found many pieces of cloth wrappings on the floor of the cave, pieces of broken jars and one complete jar. He also found a piece of wood with a stone under it but nothing below that. Harding says there were eight large jars intact. Who broke the seven jars?

The Archbishop also states that Father Yusef went with the merchant to the cave to check the details. They spent a night, sleeping in the cave. They took nothing with them from the cave, though they considered taking the one complete jar. It proved too heavy to carry in the heat, so they left it. Harding has stated that some people from the monastery made frequent visits to the cave and he thinks that "they must have recovered all the rest of the known manuscripts and large fragments." There is a flagrant

contradiction between the account of Harding and that of the Archbishop and Trever. Furthermore, Harding says that the Bedouin discovered only three manuscripts whereas the rest of the manuscripts were taken from the cave by the people of the monastery. In whom lies the truth?

In all the accounts which we reported, given by men who were concerned with the discoveries, we see only contradictions and the discovery is shrouded in mystery. The imaginative vagaries concerning the discovery are becoming more intricate. A Babylonian phylactery of the medieval period was discovered in a cave near the Dead Sea with scrolls supposedly to be of the pre-Christian period, and one was suppressed; and the letter of Mr. Hamilton to the effect that three scrolls had been on the premises of St. Mark's Convent for 20 years; and that a Jew gave a Torah Scroll to the late Archbishop in the year 1929 when the great pogrom took place in Hebron. Finally, where are the manuscripts and the scrolls and the castings of the Pentateuchal Scrolls, and the handles of the Torah Scrolls made of silver and bronze which had been in the synagogues of Hebron? Not all of them were burned, many of them were looted. Is there not a probability that there is some connection between the looted scrolls of Hebron and the discovery of some scrolls in the caves near the Dead Sea? The stories told about the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls are stranger than fiction.[335]

In my lecture at the Hebrew University at Jerusalem on June 18, 1951, I suggested to the authorities of the Hebrew University that an impartial, international committee, consisting of Jewish and Christian scholars and laymen should be formed to investigate thoroughly the tales in connection

[335] Comp. also above VIII, Paleography, Archaeology and Propaganda.

with the discovery of the Hebrew Scrolls.[336] This suggestion has been ignored.

In so far as the antiquity of the scrolls is concerned, I have demonstrated by unimpeachable internal evidence that they are of the Middle Ages. I have shown that the orthography, and punctuation, as well as the terms used therein, are of the Middle Ages. The laws referred to therein were definitely enacted after the destruction of the Second Temple. The references to the halakot show without any vestige of doubt that the scrolls could not have been composed in the pre-Christian period. Those who maintain that the scrolls are of the pre-Christian period are those who are unfamiliar with the history of Judaism and some of them are incapable of reading the text of the scrolls, as we have fully demonstrated. We must brand their interpretation of the Scrolls as belonging to antiquity as a delusion.

It was stated before that the so-called Lamech scroll is now maintained to be a commentary on the book of Genesis. In my article on the Hebrew Scrolls in the *JQR*, July, 1950, I stated:

> Last year a sensational announcement was made in the press and over the radio by Dr. Trever that one scroll was identified as the lost apocryphal book of Lamech . . . In his paper before the annual meeting of the Biblical Society in Cincinnati, December 28, 1949, he reiterated this conclusion and showed parts of the scroll on slides. On reading the slides at the meeting I became convinced that the paleography and orthography were those of a scroll written in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the

[336] ממשלת ישראל צריכה להקים ועדה שתפקידה יהא לחקור בדבר גורלם של כתבי-היד וכל הספרים שנשדדו ע"י הערבים בשנת תרפ"ט. בטוח אני שועדת-חקירה כזו, שלא יהא שום משא פנים לפניה ושתכליתה היחידה תהא בירור האמת, תביא תועלת גדולה למדע בכלל וחכמת ישראל בפרט. ותרים קרן מדינת ישראל בכל עולם המדע.

fact that the name Bit'enos was given in the scroll as that of Lamech's wife is no indication of its antiquity.

In fragments which have come to us from the Middle Ages the name of Lamech's wife, *Bit'enos* is given, the same as that referred to by Dr. Trever in his discovery.

Dr. Albright said to me personally that that fate had played into my hands. He did not use the correct word; it was not fate but my knowledge of medieval Hebrew literature that has served me. However, I shall refrain from comment until a photostat of the scroll is supplied. I am hesitant to accept the identification of the scroll as made by my colleagues of the Hebrew University.

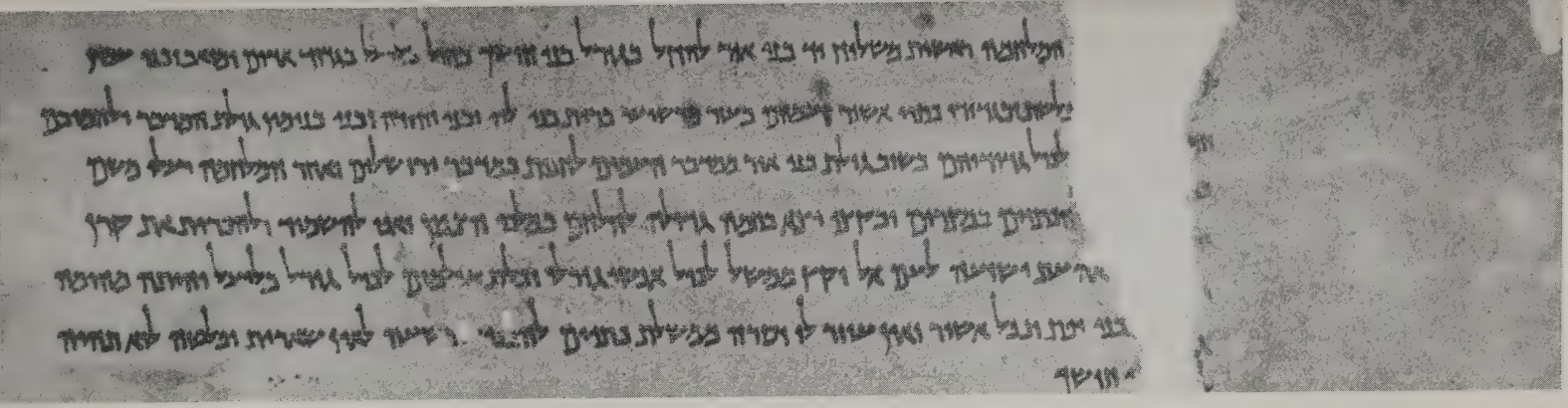
The Society of Biblical Literature at its annual meeting in New York, December 29, 1955, went on record in opposing "some of the publicity attending the efforts currently being made to raise by popular subscription $1,500,00 for the purchase of the so-called Yonan Codex. This codex is a manuscript of the Syriac New Testament which is reported to be 'the oldest surviving complete New Testament which is written in Syriac-Aramaic, the language spoken by Jesus.' " I fully agree with this resolution, but I also think that it would be proper to go on record against the type of publicity used in connection with the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls. Further, I am strongly of the opinion that the publicity in connection with the Yonan Codex and the exhibits of this Codex throughout many cities are the fruit of the seed which the archaeologists and the biblical scholars had planted. Since they applied Hollywood-type publicity in connection with the Hebrew Scrolls the Aramaic Bible Foundation followed suit. It is worth-while noting that the reply of the Foundation to the resolution of the biblical scholars was that it emanated "from disgruntled persons undertaking to thwart the work of the Aramaic Bible Foundation." The charge of being disgruntled persons has

been made by archaeologists and the biblical scholars against those who maintained that the Hebrew Scrolls are medieval. In the resolution it is stated that the value of the Codex Yonan is about $5,000. The value of the Hebrew Scrolls is not much greater since they are of the Middle Ages and are worthless for the history of Judaism and early Christianity. Professor Burrows said that the scrolls were exhibited at "Duke University, Walter's Art Gallery in Baltimore, at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and the Art Museum of Worcester, Mass. Still there were no buyers." The Hebrew University was a little too hasty in buying them for such an exorbitant price.

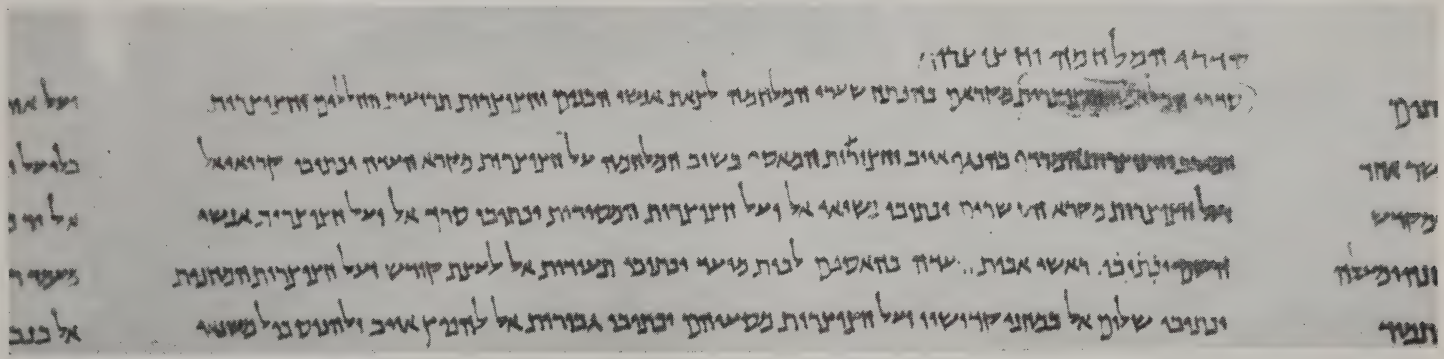
Professor Burrows is of the opinion that the scrolls will not revolutionize New Testament scholarship. Nevertheless he believes that "the doctrines and practices [described in them] substantially enriched our knowledge of Judaism at the time just before and during the origin and early growth of Christianity."[337] Scrolls written in the Middle Ages by Jews of mediocre attainments will not and cannot enrich Judaism because Judaism more than any other religion is based on knowledge. However, there is a probability that owing to the persistence of some of the Christian scholars in the belief that the scrolls were written in the pre-Christian period by the Essenes and that the doctrines and the ideas found there are similar to those found in the New Testament, particularly in John, the history of the origin of Christianity will be distorted and falsified.[338]

[337] P. 37.

[338] See also above n. 332a.



I. The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.



II. The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.

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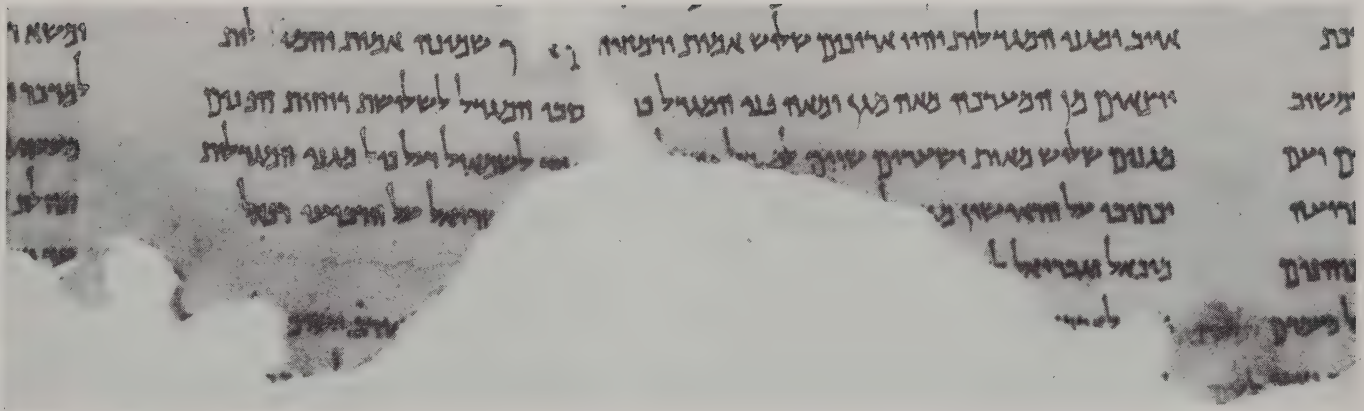

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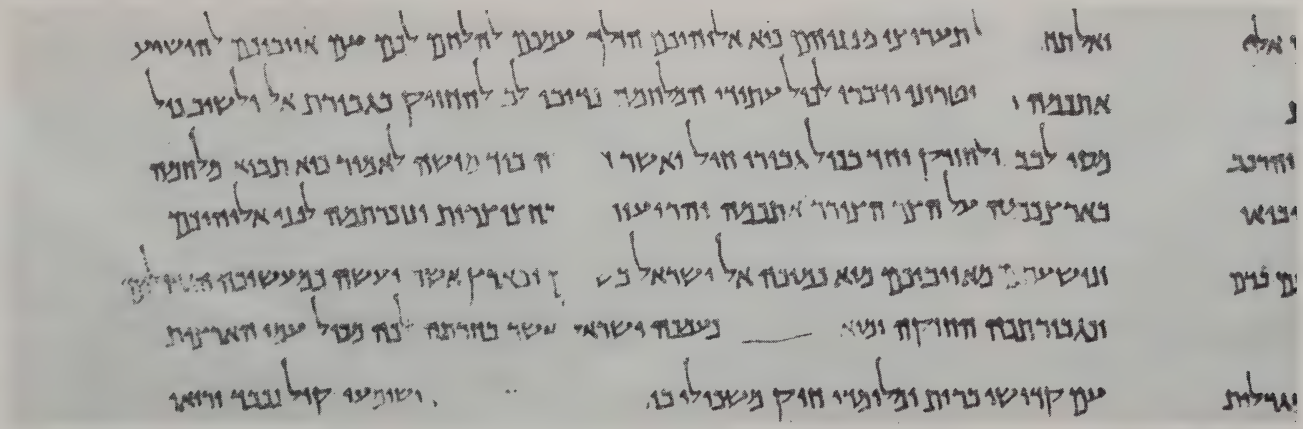

IV. The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.

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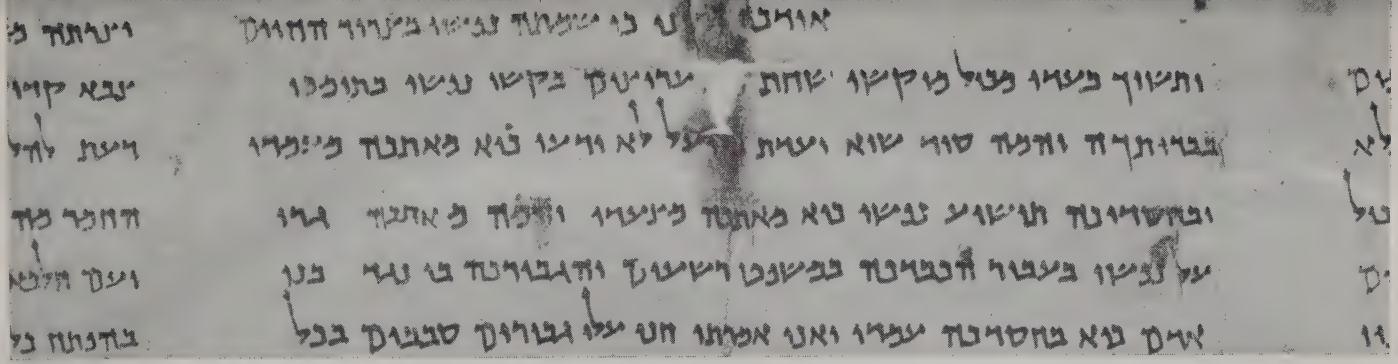
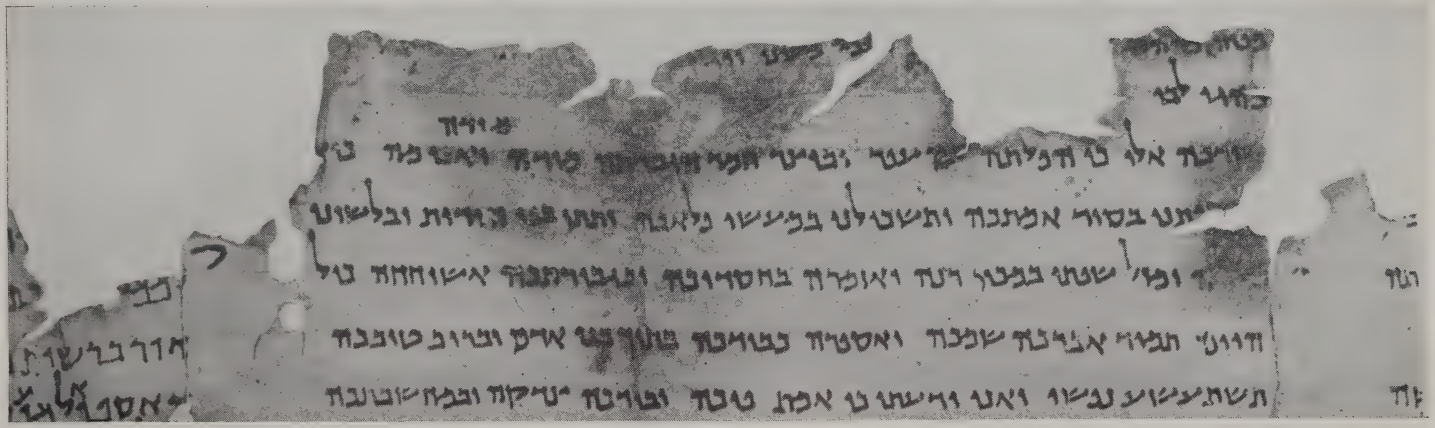


V. The Thanksgiving Hymns.



VI. The Thanksgiving Hymns.

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VII. A Ms of Eldad ha-Dani of the Early Tenth Century.

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יידישער היסטארישער אינסטיטוט אין פוילן

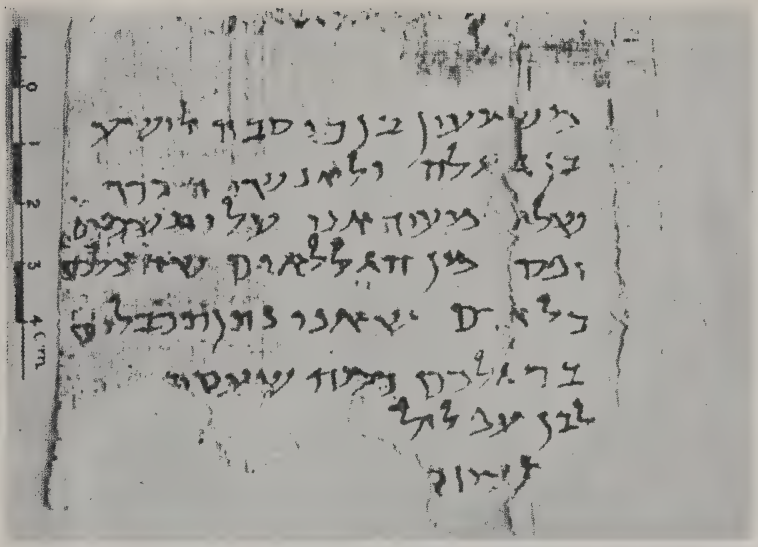
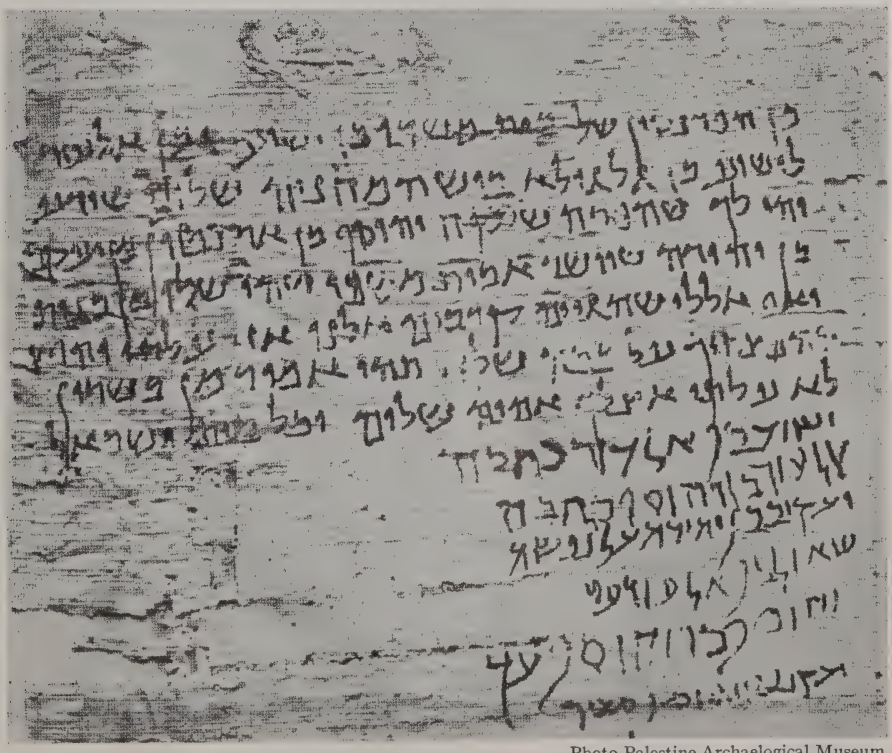


Photo Palestine Archaeological Museum.

VIII. Une lettre de Siméon Bar Kokheba.



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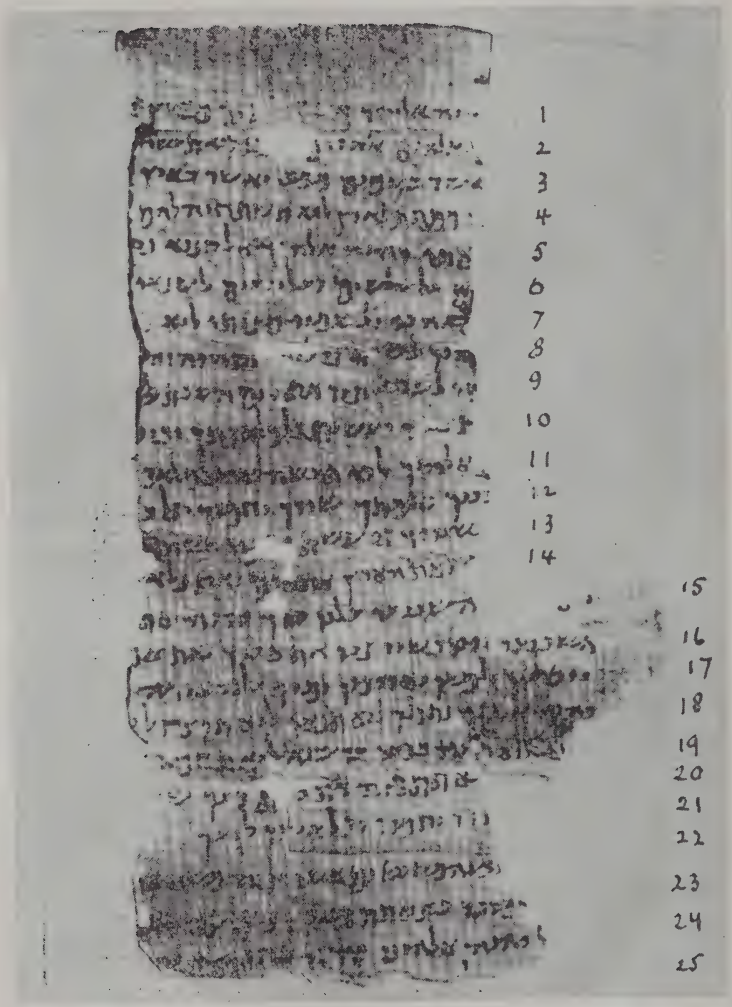
IX. Murabba'at. Document datant de la Seconde Révolte.



X. Nash Papyrus
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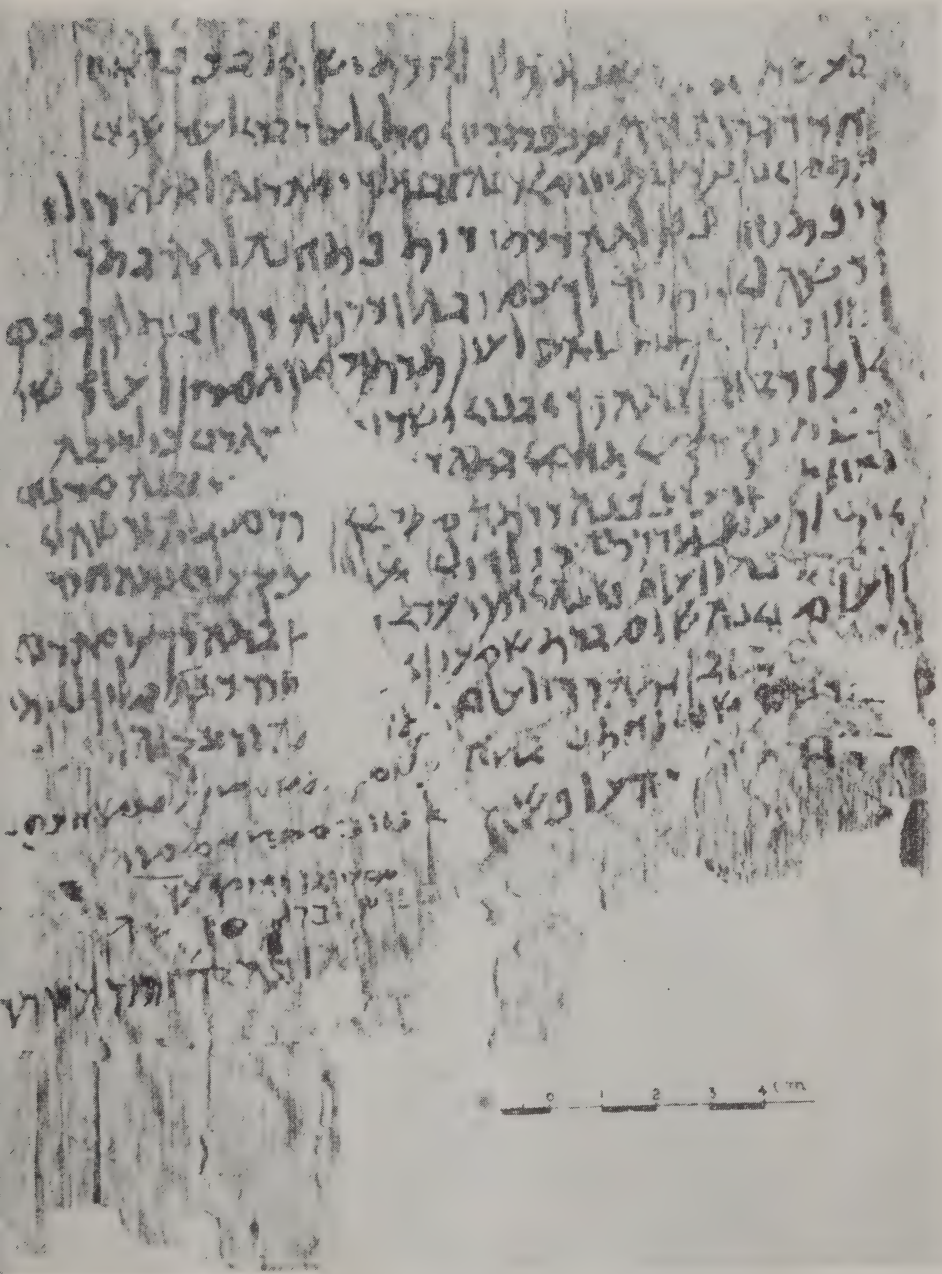

XI. Désert de Juda. Contrat juif de 134 ap. J.-C.

1 בעסרי[ן] לאפ שנת תלת לחרת ישראל בכפרביו
2 חדר בר יהודה מן כפרביו אמר לאלעזר בר אלעזר שריא
3 מן תמן אנה מן רעותי יומא דנה זבנת לך ימה דנה לבתה די לי
4 די פתיח צפן לגה דרתי די תפתחנה לגה בתך
5 ורשה לא איתי לך {לך} עם ובגו דרתה דך זבנת לך בכסף
6 זוזין די המון תמנ[י]מיא וסלעין תרתן דמין גמרין לעלם רשי
7 אלעזר בזבן בתה דך אבניא ושריתא ו]אגריא כול די בה
8 ooo קרקעא תחמא בתה דך [די אנה] אלעזר זבנה מדנחא
9 יהונתן־[ר]שי על צפנה דרתה מערבא ו[ל]דרם זבנה ורשה לא
10 איתי לך עם ובגו דרתה די לי ולא מעל ול[א] מפק עלי אנתה חדר
11 [מן] ימה דנה ולעלם ואנה אהן ועבד ב[ב]ן בתה דך מן ימה דנה
12 ולעלם ואנה שלם ברת שמעון את[ת]חדר דנה מלין לאיתי
13 לי ול[ע]לם בזבן בתה דך ולעלם תס[ב]תה ודי נקנה לוקבלך
14 כ[ת]בה דנה פשיט וחתמו בגוה
15 חדר בר יהודה על <נ>פשה
16 שלום ב[ר]ת שמעון על נפשה כתב
17 אלעזר בר מתתיא מ כמה
18 שמעון בר יהוסף עד
19 ? אלעזר בר יהונתן? שהד
20 יהודה בר יהודה שהד

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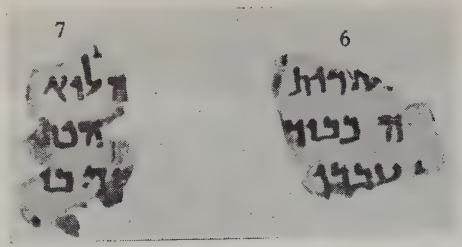
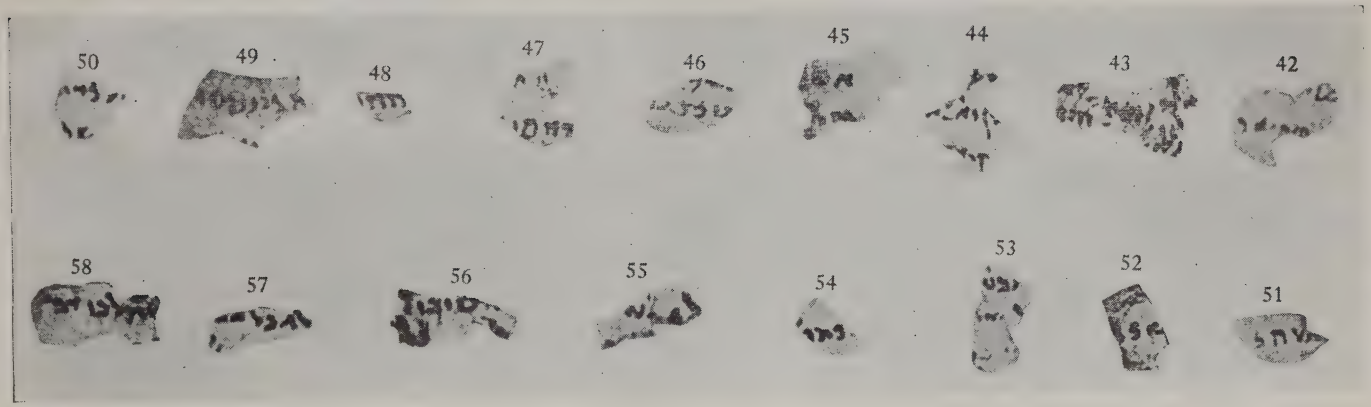


XIII.



XIV.

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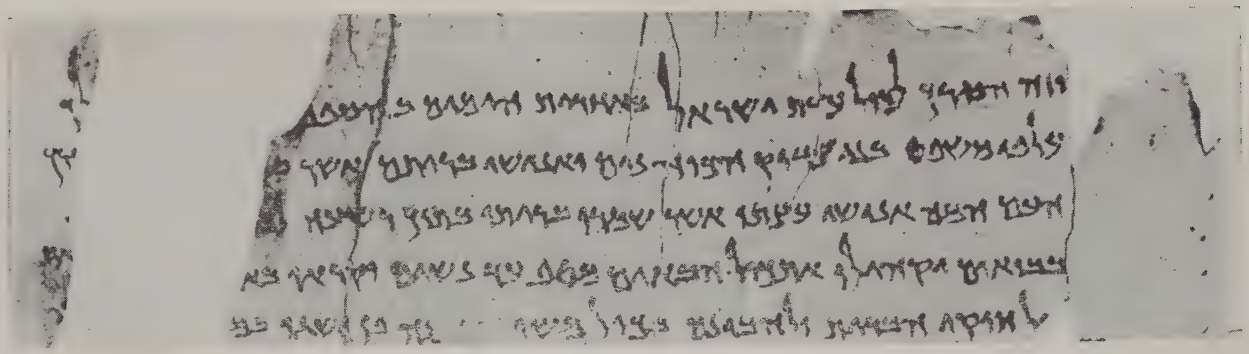
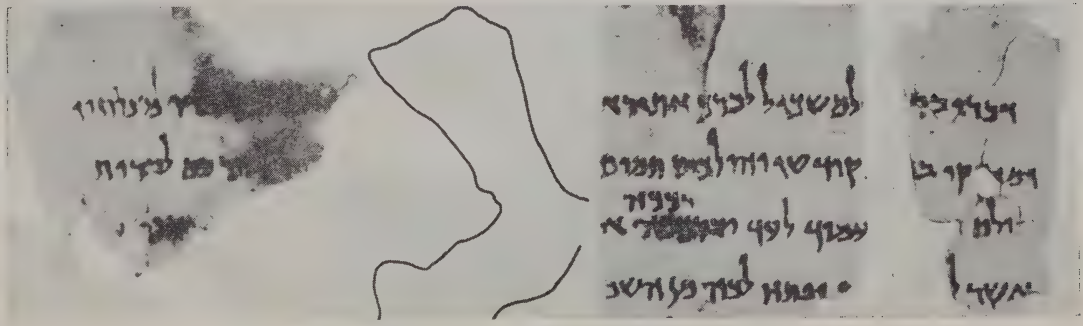


XV.



XVI.

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